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ART. I.—PETER NOT CÆSAR; OR, MR. ALLIES'
"PER CRUCEM AD LUCEM."

WHEN the late Cardinal Newman was asked, towards the end of his life, to name "the strongest book he knew in exposition, first, of the *idea* of the Catholic Church, and next, of the position and aspect of the Anglican Communion relatively to that idea," he selected Mr. Allies' "*Per Crucem ad Lucem*."*

It would be impossible to bestow higher praise on Mr. Allies' book. It may well be a source of satisfaction to him that he has been spared to present to the Church a work consisting of six volumes, for which he has received the blessing of Leo XIII., and which has been the instrument of not a few conversions. The particular volumes to which Cardinal Newman referred are the first and second; but we happen to know that he looked upon the succeeding volumes as also deserving the highest praise. They are really the historical proof in greater detail of the positive portion of the two first volumes. "The Throne of the Fisherman built by the Carpenter's Son," and "The Holy See, and the Wandering of the Nations," contain, indeed, some of the most fascinating pages it has ever been our lot to read. The whole set is unique in its adaptation to the peculiarities of the Anglican position. Written by an Eton and Oxford scholar, once an English clergyman, who was considered by many of us in the Church of England to have written its best defence, Mr. Allies, after experiencing the grace of conversion, and acting as professor in a Catholic University,

* "*Per Crucem ad Lucem*." By T. W. Allies, M.A. 2 vols. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. "*Church and State*," "*The Throne of the Fisherman*," and "*The Holy See and the Wandering of the Nations*." London: Messrs. Burns & Oates.

has had advantages for his work which few have enjoyed. If we add to this, that he appears to have continued his studies uninterruptedly for the last forty years, we need not be surprised that he should have had the happiness of writing a series of volumes which commended themselves to our late Cardinal, as the best *detailed* exposition of the controversy between Rome and England.

At a time, therefore, like the present, when there are signs of a return on the part of many good Anglicans to the bosom of the Church, it may be of use to give some account of the argument which so commended itself to the great Cardinal's mind.

His Eminence tells us in the same letter from which we have quoted, that the argument on which he himself relied, in dealing with inquirers was, that the Church is not simply a family, "as Anglicans make it," and that Apostolical succession is not sufficient. "The Church," he says, "is a state or kingdom, which has jurisdiction, which a mere patriarchal body has not. An Apostolical succession does not constitute a *state* (i.e., a kingdom), which is the Scriptural 'idea' of the Church." Words worth their weight in gold, coming, as they do, with the power of a saintly life, on which death, alas ! has now set its seal.

Now this argument of the Cardinal's is precisely the burden of Mr. Allies' writings.* Jurisdiction, he says, is the keynote of the question between Rome and England. What is it, and whence is it derived by divine right, if so derived at all ?

What is the Anglican reply to these questions? Bishop Stubbs says that "the Bishop has jurisdiction in himself."†

But he is evidently using the word in a limited sense, for he cannot mean that the Bishop gives mission to himself ; nor can he mean that there is no appeal beyond a Bishop. And yet actual jurisdiction must at least, according to any definition, include this. Bishop Stubbs would hardly maintain that all conceivable causes in spiritual matters can be settled by the Bishop of the Diocese. He tells us indeed, in the same paper, that the question of jurisdiction, "belongs to the general subject of the supremacy claimed by the See of Rome, and the *independence of National Churches*."‡

* In this article, we do not enter upon the question of the validity of Anglican orders. The argument is addressed to those who believe in their validity. It convicts the Catholic Bishops of Henry VIII.'s time of sinful compliance with a rebellious act, and the Elizabethan Bishops of the sin of schism, even supposing their orders to be valid.

† "Eastern Church Association Papers," No. I.

‡ A sample of the extraordinary manipulation of history which is resorted to in order to prove the existence of an "independent National Church" in pre-Reformation times, is to be found in the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts. It speaks (p. 18) of "the Canons passed in Legatine Councils under

Jurisdiction, according to this view of it, lies with the National Church, and appeals cannot be carried outside the province or provinces which are coterminous with the nation. In England, it is clear that the ultimate appeal would be either to the Episcopate of the province or provinces which are included in the nation, or to the Crown. But the Episcopate to which Bishop Stubbs belongs, owns allegiance to some form of supremacy in the Crown. This is, according to the teaching of the Church of England in her Articles of Religion, (which every clergyman has to read aloud on taking spiritual charge of a district or parish) a supremacy which is not unscriptural. Only such powers are (it is there stated) permitted to the Crown as were given to certain "godly princes" by Almighty God in the Scriptural record. Who these "godly princes" were we do not know; but we are sure that the powers given to the Crown, in the days of Elizabeth, and ever since, by the Church of England, are in violation of the laws which the Divine Head of the Church enacted for His kingdom, as related in the Holy Gospels. And this is what Mr. Allies sets himself to prove. He shows* that the Church is a kingdom, complete in itself, and therefore possessed of its own jurisdiction; that the Church's form of unity, as a kingdom or state, was determined by our Lord Himself in His appointment of St. Peter to be over the rest of the Church, Apostles included; that the Church of England is built on a supremacy which is not that of St. Peter's See, but of the civil power, and that whatever amount of true doctrine it might at any time teach, it still would not be part of the Catholic Church, because not sharing that form of unity which our Lord impressed on her ere He ascended into heaven. And this he shows with a wealth of illustration which is perfectly overwhelming. We proceed to extract some of the ore from this fruitful mine.

Otho and Othobon," as having been "ratified by the National Church under Archbishop Peckham." Dr. Stubbs, in his Oxford Lectures (p. 25), uses the same expression—"these Canons which might possibly be treated as in themselves wanting the sanction of the National Church, were ratified in Councils held by Peckham"; and again (p. 308)—"the constitutions of Othobon, which were confirmed by Peckham at Lambeth, and which, with those of Otho, were the first codified and glossed portions of the National Church law."

In point of fact, when we refer to the constitutions of Othobon, we find no idea of any assertion of independence, but of obedience to a precept. "*Præcipimus . . . ut omnia statuta hæc, quæ in hoc nostro concilio sunt promulgata, in scriptis habeant, et ipsi archiepiscopi et episcopi eadem in synodis suis annis singulis de verbo ad verbum perlegi faciant diligenter.*" Peckham, according to Wilkins (Conc. ii. p. 42), only "*promulgatas innovavit.*" It was Peckham who said, that whatever oaths he might have taken, he should feel himself absolved from them if they interfered with his duty to the Pope. How can there be an "independent National Church" here?

* See especially his volume called "Church and State," p. 109, &c.

The Church of England initiated a change of some kind at the so-called Reformation. This is admitted on all sides. And it should be admitted that where she elected to stand then, she stands to-day. "Every sort of thing must necessarily revert to its original for its classification," says Tertullian, in his "*De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*." It is not possible to be too persistent in pressing home this obvious truth on those who have been brought up under non-Catholic teaching. Nothing is more difficult than to persuade the man who has "Catholic sympathies" that in this matter the originating cause of the separation is a critical element of the whole question. No amount of apparent or real amendment in the way of teaching Catholic truth, or adopting Catholic practices, or using Catholic ritual, can atone for an originally Erastian settlement, if it be Erastian. The improvement appealed to, the good being done, the area of Catholic truth taught, is not in the least depreciated when the movers in this busy scene are entreated to look well to themselves, to see whether all this is in its true home. Nestorianism could show all this, on a larger scale, and for a longer time, and yet the Nestorian body was not the Catholic Church. Sacraments it had, ritual, devotion to our Lady, missionary energy, considerable expansion, and yet it would have been better for any individual Nestorian, at any time in its history, to have submitted to what Anglicans admit was, after all, the Catholic Church, whilst they, the Nestorians, were not.

The common reply, therefore, with which we meet from those who desire to be called Catholics in the Establishment is in defiance of Tertullian's principle, and of the course which, according to St. Augustine, such questions should follow. It is said: "We have the Apostolic succession, by which we have sufficiently inherited the right of teaching possessed by our forefathers, from the first establishment of Christianity here down to the present time. In God's providence we have been appointed to administer the Sacraments to the people. We passed through a terrible crisis in the sixteenth century, but we have come out of it, not without our losses, but still with our personal identity entire, and, as such, we are the true Church in England. We ought to be in a different relationship with yourselves abroad; there ought to be union, but it is *in posse* though not *in esse*. It is but suspended, dormant, ready to emerge, it may be, in that happy future in which, by the reconciliation of mutual differences in a general council, we shall show the world as a whole that our Lord's prayer was not in vain, and that He is indeed the Only Begotten Son." But the Catholic Church persists in putting to all such the pertinent question which St. Augustine was continually pressing on the Donatists. "Do not suffer yourself," he says to one

of their bishops, "to be turned aside to other questions; for this is the point from which the most regularly constituted inquiry must start, Why the schism was made."* In other words, there is a separation. Why was it made? You stand accused of schism. Why was the new form of jurisdiction introduced?

The answer given by a Catholic might indeed take the form of an appeal to something besides mere intellectual considerations. As the real state of things, the low morality of the chief agents in the so-called Reformation, the fearful persecution by which the old religion was driven out and the new established, the fearful state of things (which must be admitted by any High Churchman) at once inaugurated with regard to Sacraments, and to all that is called Church doctrine, the low state of morality to which, by the confession of some of the chief actors, the new state of things led amongst the people at large—as these facts come to be seriously weighed, they form of themselves sufficient proof that the movement was not of God, and that if it made itself good by means of might, it cannot claim the virtue of that more glorious honour which we know by the name of right.

But Mr. Allies passes over these considerations, and thereby, we think, enhances the value of his book. It proves one point, and that the one point which, to a mind at all accustomed to historical considerations, includes all others.

He shows that the gist of the settlement in Henry the Eighth's and Elizabeth's reign consisted in one simple change, which included all the rest—viz., the transfer of the Papal supremacy to the English Crown.

Every effort has been made of late to obscure this distinct issue. The attempt has been made even to show that the English Church never owned the Papal Supremacy. This position might be conclusively refuted by adducing the protest made by the Catholic Bishops to Queen Elizabeth on her accession to the throne—by Henry VIII's direct assertions before his fall—by the oaths uniformly taken by the Bishops before the sixteenth century—by the acceptance all along of the Pallium on the part of the Archbishops of Canterbury—by the terms of the petition of the Chapter of Canterbury on the election of an Archbishop—by the words of the Synod of London in A.D. 1411—by the handbooks of the English clergy in the fourteenth century—by the express statement of Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, in the thirteenth century—by the whole history of St. Thomas à Becket in the twelfth century—and by the teaching of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the eleventh century.† But we need no more

* St Aug., tom. ii. p. 209g, 2116.

† Cf. "Continuity or Collapse?" London: Catholic Truth Society.

explicit statements than the terms themselves in which the Supremacy of the See of St. Peter was annexed to the English Crown.

Here is Lord Campbell's account of the original transaction :

"In the following year (1534) Henry, finding that there was no chance of succeeding with his divorce suit with the sanction of the Pope, and being impatient to marry Anne Boleyn, resolved to break with Rome altogether, and preserving* all the tenets of the Roman Catholic Faith, to vest in himself the jurisdiction which the Pope had hitherto exercised in England. Sir Thomas More had now resigned the Great Seal ; and it was held by the pliant Lord Audley, who was ready to adopt the new doctrines in religion, or to adhere to the old, as suited his interests."

He proceeds to say that this assumption of the Papal jurisdiction was effected by the Statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, by which "instead of allowing the decision of the Archbishops to be final," as it was by Statute 24 Henry VIII., c. 12, the Legislature now enacted that :

"For lack of justice at or in any of the Courts of the Archbishop, it shall be lawful to the parties grieved to appeal to the King's Majesty in the King's Court of Chancery, where delegates are to be appointed under the Great Seal, who are to adjudicate upon the appeal. This appeal is given in all causes in the Courts of the Archbishops of this realm, *as well in the causes of a purely spiritual nature, which might hitherto have been carried to Rome, as in the classes of causes of a temporal nature, enumerated in Statute 24 Henry VIII., c. 12.*"

And here are the terms, in which the seizure of Papal jurisdiction was re-enacted by Elizabeth, which forms the basis of jurisdiction in the Anglican Establishment to this day. The Statute of Elizabeth, c. i. sec. 17, says it has :

"For ever, by authority of Parliament, united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm, such jurisdictions, privileges, powers, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised, or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and person, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities."

And from the day when that statute was enacted (in the teeth of a protest from the Episcopate) until the present hour, the Crown has not merely appointed Bishops, without any reference

* Of course, he could not do this, for the Supremacy of St. Peter's See is one of her fundamental tenets.

to so much as a Patriarch, but has determined the circumscription of bishoprics, has divided them, and re-arranged them according to its pleasure. The Supremacy of the Pope consisted mainly in two points—he instituted all Bishops, and was the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge. Of course, he could empower any one to institute and to judge in his stead, but that was not the case here. The Queen seized upon these two powers, not merely in defiance of the Pope, but of protests from the Episcopate, Convocation, and the two Universities. And here is an instance of the actual and legitimate issue, in this century, of the mode of Ecclesiastical Government then inaugurated.

"The Queen has been pleased by letters patent, under the great seal of the United Kingdom, to *reconstitute* the Bishopric of Quebec, and to direct that the same shall comprise, &c. . . . Her Majesty has also been pleased to constitute so much of the ancient diocese of Quebec as comprises the district of Montreal to be a Bishop's See and diocese, &c."* All that the Archbishop has to do in such a matter is to give episcopal consecration to a person designated by the Queen, on pain of having his goods confiscated, and his person imprisoned; *but he does not assign the diocese or give the mission.* He gives Order, if he can, but he does not assign subjects; the Queen does that; in other words, the Queen gives jurisdiction. A great many Anglicans seem to imagine that by the act of consecration the Archbishop's intervention secures spiritual jurisdiction, whilst the Queen only consents to enforce the jurisdiction with temporal penalties within a certain area. But the Crown initiated, and the Crown determines the area; and it is precisely in this that jurisdiction consists. It is precisely this that originally belonged to the Archbishop, as delegated by the Pope, or was exercised by the Pope, when no one was so delegated; and it was precisely this, amongst other things, that was annexed to the Crown. It is precisely this transfer that contradicts the first fundamental characteristic of that spiritual kingdom called the Church; this was the sword that severed England from the rest of Christendom; it was by this fatal blow that the Church of England became in a perfectly new sense a National Church. From that time its Bishops have knelt down, *after their consecration*, and said to King or Queen,

"I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty. And for the same temporalities, I do my homage presently to your Majesty. So help me God. God save Queen Victoria."

* This, too, was some two hundred years after the hierarchy depending on the See of St. Peter had been at work in that self-same area!

What declaration could be plainer? A distinction is drawn between spiritualities and temporalities; it is for the latter that the bishop does homage; but the former are "held only of her Majesty."

Elizabeth was not so simple as to arrogate to herself the power of conferring Orders or administering Sacraments. But neither did the supremacy of the Pope consist in this. It consisted in giving mission and jurisdiction, so that the spiritualities were "held of him only," whoever might be deputed to act for him. This was transferred to the Crown. The spiritualities are held now "of her Majesty only." And this is the pith of the Erastian position. Whether the Crown acts through the Episcopate, or without it, does not affect the essential Erastianism of the arrangement. It is still the Crown that acts, the Crown that settles on appeal, *the Crown that takes the place of the See of St. Peter*. It is not in the least the case of a civil ruler acting through an Episcopate, in communion with the See of St. Peter, *and by its permission*; in this case the Crown, *proprio motu*, and by the exercise of the royal prerogative, under protest from the Episcopate (which under Elizabeth went to the Tower), simply annexed that prerogative which had hitherto been exercised by the See of St. Peter, and which was part of the panoply of the Christian Church.

It is true that great, and sometimes successful attempts are made nowadays to forestall the action of the Crown, so that initiation might seem to rest with the Episcopate and not with the Crown; but the Erastian principle remains. The position is the same. The origin of it all was vicious; and time cannot cure the vice of the original tenure.

Indeed, in spite of some noble—we had almost said heroic—efforts to breathe freely in an Erastian atmosphere, the lungs of the Anglican system seem too choked with the air it has breathed for more than three hundred years, to admit of its most advanced spirits speaking with the tones of the Catholic Church on this subject, so long as they persist in defending their present situation. We could not have better proof of this than is contained in the recently published life of Mr. Mackonochie, of St. Alban's, Holborn. A chapter in that life, by Dr. Littledale, deals with the difficulties attendant on work such as Mr. Mackonochie's. In attempting to produce a closer imitation of Catholic life, the Church party, as it is called, have met with the formidable difficulty of finding authority against their revival. Authority has stepped in, and declared itself opposed in turn to any definite binding-belief on the subject of Baptismal Regeneration, on Eternal Punishment, or on the Holy Eucharist. No one of the representatives of the Anglican ministry can be ousted from

his position as teacher for adopting Protestant or Catholic doctrines, whichever he may choose. On these several heads, not to mention others, he can choose which he will.

But the ritual embodiment of high Sacramental teaching has been visited with the severest penalties, and Mr. Mackonochie eventually accepted a compromise suggested by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, whilst admiring his earnestness and sincerity, expressly repudiated his Catholic teaching as expressive of the mind of the "Church and nation."

To meet this difficulty, and to secure, not, be it observed, that Catholic doctrine should be taught under anathema, but that it may be taught *with impunity* side by side with heresy, which the archbishops and bishops are to be *free* to teach, Dr. Littledale, at the end of this chapter in the life of Mr. Mackonochie, sketches a proposed reform.

He speaks of inducing the Sovereign to act towards the Church "in the same manner as towards the State." He is not speaking of supplying temporal accidents, for of these, he says, "Parliament can unquestionably make laws affecting" them. He supposes that there are other powers that can legitimately be exercised by the Crown over the Church. He admits the Erastian character of the settlement in the sixteenth century. And his remedy consists in the overthrow of that settlement, but in favour of an arrangement which would be still Erastian. It is to be such as "that the Crown may not act despotically, nor through any alien instrumentality." (*i.e.*, alien to the religious body politic) "but *must govern* through ministers belonging themselves to the body politic which they administer, and responsible to that body for any malversation in office." He does not see that this will not mend the matter. No wonder that Mr. Mackonochie * was driven to say in 1869, "we shall *begin*, I trust, to feel as a body, and not merely as individuals, that we belong to the kingdom which is not of this world." Those who have had the inestimable privilege of having been in the Church since their childhood will wonder how a man of Mr. Mackonochie's earnestness could feel at home in a body which had not *begun* to feel that it belonged to the kingdom which is not of this world. But they little know the tremendous force of early association and inherited prejudices. Imagine a religious body which does not possess the consciousness of belonging to the kingdom which our Lord founded, being called the Church! Yet what Mr. Mackonochie says is only a sample of its history for centuries. For instance, Mr. Allies notices the way in which the bishops met the reintroduction of a Catholic hierarchy into England. The bishops' charges were

* "*Life of A. H. Mackonochie*," p. 180.

full of it. The late Mr. Sergeant Bellasis collected together the epithets applied by them in these charges to the action of the Holy Father in restoring to us a Catholic Episcopate. Not one bishop in the whole of the Anglican ministry grounded his objection on his own possession of spiritual jurisdiction. Not one bishop showed any consciousness of the novel idea that jurisdiction was inherent in his See. Not a bishop in the whole number appealed to anything but the invasion of that jurisdiction *which they had received from the Crown*. It was not Canterbury and York against the Bishop of Rome that posed in these charges, but the appeal was to the national will as expressed in the oath of homage. The chorus of indignation which arose from the Bench has been so exquisitely described by a master hand that we cannot forbear transcribing the passage, which occurs in Cardinal Newman's lecture on "The present position of Catholics,"—lectures which contain the finest specimens of his powers to be found throughout his works. All the epithets he uses actually occur in the episcopal charges. One seems to hear the very sound of bells, as he describes them in such melodious language.

Speaking of the Establishment, he says :

"It agrees to differ with its children on a thousand points. On one dogma it may rest without any mistake—'that the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm.' Here is sunshine amid the darkness, sense amid confusion, an intelligible strain amid a Babel of sounds. . . . Heresy, and scepticism, and infidelity, and fanaticism may challenge it in vain ; but fling upon the gale the faintest whisper of Catholicism, and it recognises by instinct the presence of its con-natural foe. Forthwith, as during last year" [when the Catholic hierarchy was introduced into England], "the atmosphere is tremulous with agitation, and discharges its vibrations far and wide. A movement is in birth which has no natural crisis or resolution. Spontaneously the bells of the steeples begin to sound, not by an act of volition, but by a sort of mechanical impulse, Bishop and Dean, Archdeacon and Canon, Rector and Curate, one after another, each on his high tower, off they set, swinging and booming, tolling and chiming, with various intensesness, and thickening emotion, and deepening volume, the whole ding-dong which has scared town and country this weary time—tolling and chiming away, jingling and clamouring, and ringing the changes on their poor half-dozen notes, all about 'the Popish aggression,' 'insolent and insidious,' 'insidious and insolent,' 'insolent and atrocious,' 'atrocious and insolent,' 'atrocious and insolent and ungrateful,' 'ungrateful, insolent, and atrocious,' 'foul and offensive,' 'pestilent and horrid,' 'audacious and revolting,' 'contemptible and shameless,' 'malignant,' 'frightful,' 'mad,' 'meretricious,' bobs, I think the ringers call them, and bob-royals, and triple-bob majors, grand-sires, to the extent of their compass and the full ring of their metal, in honour

of Queen Bess and to the confusion of the Pope and the Princes of the Church."

It was a curious coincidence, which Mr. Allies notices, that during this hubbub, the Anglican Legislature passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, as a measure of reprisals for what it considered an invasion of its spiritual jurisdiction, on the 1st of August, the Feast of St. Peter's chains. The voice of Peter, providing the children of the Church with fresh ecclesiastical organisation, had power to stir the greatest empire in the world to this mad act of legislative rancour; but the chains fell off, the Act was repealed, and the Catholic religion only stood on firmer ground, from a civil point of view, than before. Meanwhile, the entire Anglican Episcopate had spoken—and spoken for once with one voice; and that voice proclaimed its adhesion to the Elizabethan settlement, whereby the spiritual jurisdiction, which belonged to the See of St. Peter, had been transferred, so the law asserted, to the English Crown. The bells of the steeples throughout the land had rung out one wrathful protest—"the rights of the English Crown in danger, in danger—unite to defend the Crown, and its spiritual jurisdiction (for no other was affected) which is invaded by this act of the Pope." "But Peter slept between two soldiers,"—"securus judicat orbis terrarum."

Thus, three hundred years had done their work. There was no idea then that jurisdiction was inherent in the See; there was no thought of the province falling back on the rest of Christendom, for where was any province on which to fall back? It was the Crown that was attacked, its jurisdiction that was wounded, and it was the Crown that came to their aid.

Now let us take another period in the history of the establishment—the era of Laud's revival. Archbishop Laud endeavours to extract from St. Augustine's writings some shelter for his own position; but the feat is accomplished only by attributing to St. Augustine himself what St. Augustine was, as a matter of fact, blaming in others. The Donatists appealed to the Emperor; the Emperor and St. Augustine agreed that they ought to have appealed to the Pope. The Donatists would like to have rested content with their Synod, presided over by the Primate; they said that the Pope *ought not* to interfere. Laud writes that this was what St. Augustine said: it was really what St. Augustine *blamed them for saying*. He himself appealed to the Pope, again and again, and blamed the Donatists for not doing the same.*

Laud's position was in thorough accordance with what we have pointed out as the only natural interpretation of Henry Eighth's and Elizabeth's settlement. He says in an official letter, signed

* Cf. Rivington's "*Dependence*," pp. 214-17.

by himself and the Bishops of Rochester and Oxford, to the Duke of Buckingham, that "when the clergy submitted themselves in the time of Henry VIII., the submission was so made that, *if any difference, doctrinal or other*, fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be judges of it in a national Synod, or Convocation ;"—and so Archbishop Bancroft, speaking with his whole province, says, "forasmuch as both the ecclesiastical and temporal be *now* united in his Majesty," contrasting this new union of jurisdiction with their separation before the sixteenth century ; and Bishop Van Mildert, quoting Bishop Horsley as an authority, and as having expressed the mind of the Anglican Episcopate in happy phrase, says, "Spiritual jurisdiction belongs to the State, as allied to the Church, and although exercised by the Church, is derived from the State."*

But to return for a moment to the Laudian period. It was under his guidance that the King dealt with Archbishop Abbot's case. The Bishop of Lincoln reports to the King the fact that the Archbishop, when out hunting, had killed a man, and informs the Duke of Buckingham officially, that "his Grace, upon this accident, is by the common law of England, to forfeit all his estate unto his Majesty ; and by the canon law, which is in force with us (he is) irregular *ipso facto*, and so suspended from all ecclesiastical functions, until he be again restored by his superior ; which, I take it, is the King's Majesty, in the rank and order of ecclesiastical jurisdictions." And the royal decree accordingly runs : "Of our special grace, and of our supreme royal and ecclesiastical authority, &c."

Now it was precisely this point with which Dr. Pusey failed to deal in his book on the Royal Supremacy. His point, which he sufficiently proves, is that the power conferred on the Crown is not an arbitrary one, but is meant to be exercised according to law and canon ; but the vital point is the preliminary question, What right had the Crown to act at all ? In a word, to repeat the words of St. Augustine : "Why was the schism made ?"

To conclude. All Catholics must feel sympathy with those in the Establishment who are conscious of the Erastian atmosphere they breathe, and who long for a state of things in which, as they say, "the Church would be free." It is something to feel an evil ; it argues spiritual sensibilities not utterly dead to the fundamental feature of the Church, as a kingdom, and as therefore possessed of a jurisdiction of her own. But Catholics cannot help wondering at the extent to which the principle is set at nought which we have quoted from Tertullian, that "every kind of thing must necessarily revert to its original for its classification ;" they

* Rivington's "Dependence," p. 117.

cannot help wondering that any candid mind that has dipped ever so little into the history of the sixteenth century, as it has had to be rewritten since the facilities of access to contemporary documents have so increased, should not see that it was not the wish of the nation at large, much less of the Church, that transferred the powers of the See of St. Peter to the Crown; and still more do they wonder how any one who has grasped the idea of the Church as a Kingdom, not of earth, but from Heaven, can fail to see that the whole history of the Establishment from its first inception under Henry VIII. to the present hour, has exhibited one leading trait, viz., a continuous dependence in the matter of Mission and Jurisdiction on the Supremacy of the Crown.

Nor is it less surprising that Bishop Stubbs should so summarily set at nought the verdict of history, when he comes to the statement of his own position. How is it that he can speak of the Book of Common Prayer as "the legal and formal expression of the mind of the English Church and nation,"* when we have such glimpses of the true state of things in, for instance, Paget's letter to Somerset (Strype ii. Record 110) and the attitude of the Bishops towards the oath of Supremacy? "Eleven-twelfths of the kingdom are opposed to the new fangled teaching," says Paget. No single Bishop in possession of a Diocese can be proved to have signed the oath of Supremacy, which was necessary to bring the Prayer Book into birth. It is not certain that Kitchen signed;† it is certain that the rest refused. Can Bishop Stubbs have allowed himself to be misled by the representation of history on this subject which passed muster a few years ago, but which now is out of date? According to the admission of Dr. Littledale, made before he entered upon his rôle of vilifying the Catholic Church:

"Two mendacious partisans, the infamous Foxe, and the not much more respectable Burnet, have so overlaid all the history of the Reformation with falsehoods, that it is well nigh impossible for ordinary readers to get at the facts;"

but at least Dr. Littledale himself admits that

"the number of peasants massacred for refusing to accept Protestantism, in one year of Edward VI., by foreign mercenaries under Lord John Russell, in Devonshire, was four thousand: and five thousand more were slain in Norfolk by the Earl of Warwick, irrespective of subsequent headings and hangings."

* Cf. Bishop of Oxford's Visitation Charge, June 1890.

† See Rivington's "Dependence," p. 147.

And to use again Dr. Littledale's words :

"The infamous Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter . . . preached a thanksgiving sermon amidst the unburied corpses of the Devonshire Catholics murdered by Lord Russell's foreign brigands"—and again—"Bishop Bonner, whose evil reputation rests solely on the testimony of these two matchless liars, Bale and Foxe, was brought to trial for omitting the last clause in a sermon written for him by Cranmer, which he was ordered to preach. Clause 1 was that the Devonshire and Norfolk insurgents, who rose in defence of their ancestral religion" (as the Doctor expresses it), "were not only lawfully and righteously hanged, but eternally damned also." Again, "the number who died at Elizabeth's own hands for clinging to the religion of their fathers (and that more painfully than by burning) was, at the lowest computation, three hundred and seventeen,"

whilst, lastly—

"the Catholics saw everything which to them was most precious and hallowed, and which had come down to them with the sanction and traditions of more than a thousand years, insulted and trampled under foot."

We do not bind ourselves to every statement of Dr. Littledale's, but we do assert that every fresh discovery in the shape of documents and contemporary records has gone to confirm the estimate given above, of the process by which the transfer of jurisdiction from the See of St. Peter to the English Crown was originally made. And there is nothing to counterbalance the assertions made by men like Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, as to the tremendous moral declension that followed in the wake of this imaginary Reformation. But with this we have little to do in our present argument. Our point is, that the people of England were dragged into a course of schism, from the day when the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the country was taken over by the civil power. So that even if valid Orders had been retained under Elizabeth, there would have remained only a family of Bishops without a father—not a spiritual Kingdom, or part of such, unless it be held that Episcopal jurisdiction could flow from the head of the temporal order, which, as we shall see, is contrary to our Lord's own determination of the nature of His Kingdom. But before proceeding to show this, we will follow the fortunes of that Eastern Church which separated from the See of St. Peter, after having acknowledged it in a General Council as the divinely appointed guardian of the Faith. Its history assists in proving what is natural to a religious body which separates from the See of St. Peter, and that Holy See receives a fresh evidence of its supernatural position from a comparison of all the bodies that have left the shelter of its communion.

From the day of Pentecost to the peace of Constantine (A.D. 312) the Church had grown as a kingdom of souls with her own jurisdiction, independent of all civil power. She had passed through every form of persecution, and was now emerging with a complete hierarchy, containing certain centres of jurisdiction of Apostolic origin, with laws of her own, and sanctions peculiar to herself. She had no earthly dowry, and no help from State or Crown.

After the peace of Constantine all was changed. That glorious martyrdom of 300 years had won for her a new position. Her laws were henceforth to be enforced with the penalties of time. The Christian kingdoms of the West as they came into existence, one and all of them, acknowledged the spiritual jurisdiction of the occupant of St. Peter's See over the whole Christian world, and invested it with temporal effects. But never did the Church hand over to the Imperial power the keys which she had received in Peter. We may take as summary proof of this the testimony of the greatest legislator of these first few centuries. Justinian, in his laws, recognised with the utmost distinctness the supreme authority of the successor of St. Peter; and in the year 536 he signed the formulary which the Greek Church presented with its signature to Pope Agapetus, containing the words: "Wherefore following in all things the Apostolic See, we set forth what has been ordained by it. And we profess that these things shall be kept without fail, and will order that all bishops shall do according to the tenor of that formulary: the Patriarchs to your Holiness, and the Metropolitans to the Patriarchs, and the rest to their own Metropolitans: that in all things our Holy Catholic Church may have its proper solidity."

Bishops, Metropolitans, Patriarchs, the Apostolic See, such, according to Justinian and the Greek Church in that age, was the ascending scale of the hierarchy of the Church and the cause of its solidity. And the Apostolic See was such, in their belief, because it was the See of St. Peter.

This is the form of unity that obtains to this day in the Catholic Roman Church. What was the origin of such a wholly different state of things as exists at the present moment in the East? It was this:

An empire had arisen in the West, which received its consecration from the See of St. Peter. It was *after* the creation of this Holy Roman Empire that the East became the theatre of the schismatic spirit—*i.e.*, it was not until the Byzantine monarchs had felt the greatness of the empire of the West that the fell spirit of jealousy, which led to man's original ruin, entered with all its malignity upon the scene. The Holy Roman Empire was the contradiction of the Byzantine dream of a world-wide

dominion. The schism of the East became possible, and was enacted under the miserable Photius.

But the Eastern Roman Emperors never dreamt of submitting the Church to their own jurisdiction. They made, indeed, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, as the city of their residence, to be superior to the elder Sees of Alexandria and Antioch ; they deposed and slew and insulted them at times ; but they stopped short, until after the schism, of the claim to initiate their jurisdiction. But after the schism all things were possible to them ; and (did space permit) it would be of peculiar interest, in view of the "attrait" which High Churchmen in England evince towards the East, to note the steps by which the Photian schismatics descended to their present position of ecclesiastical slavery.

Our Lord's Prayer was for Peter and his brethren, that he might, in the exercise of his gift of infallibility, strengthen them. History reveals the weakness of the East as soon as it left the source of its strength, the Holy Apostolic See, in which, according to their own avowal, "religion had ever been kept inviolate."

The later Greeks lost the very consciousness of the extent to which they, who were constantly accusing the Latins of falling away from the tradition of the Fathers had themselves seceded, in this matter of ecclesiastical independence, from the doctrine handed down by the old Church, and from the spirit of their great Fathers. Balsamon states the literal truth, when he gives as the principle of their ecclesiastical life, "the Imperial Supremacy can do anything"—anything except actually administer the Sacraments. Probably, no Greek ever went to the same excess of subserviency as Cranmer and Barlow, when they informed the King that his election was sufficient to make a Bishop without consecration. The fact is, the Greeks preserved their hierarchy ; and, with it, as a consequence, they retained a respect for sacraments (including that of Order) which we lost in England. But short of the actual administration of sacraments, there was soon nothing which the Emperor could not do in the way of Ecclesiastical authority. To the Emperor belonged the right of legislation, and the right of judging, the division and circumscription of ecclesiastical provinces, the determining the rank of individual churches. No contest about investiture was possible in the Greek Empire ; the faintest trace of ecclesiastical independence disappeared ; and the Emperor, as later the Sultan also, gave to the new Patriarch the pastoral staff as sign of the dignity conferred upon him by God through the Imperial hand. The words he used were : "The Holy Trinity promotes thee to be Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch, *through the Royal Power given to us by Him.*" When three ecclesiastics

had been selected by the twelve bishops, resident in the city, one was named by the Emperor, and was brought before him, to receive institution from him, after which he was enthroned and consecrated by the Archbishop of Heraclea. Ecclesiastical freedom ceased even to be an aspiration; and the Church, increasingly dishonoured and scourged by Imperial despotism, came to regard its present condition as part of its original institution.

It was not, however, without incessant warning from the Pastor of the Universal Church, that the Church in the East thus sank to its grave. For five hundred years, the Pope warned the Greeks, but in vain. Gregory IX. wrote in 1232 to Germanus II. :

"When the Church of the Greeks separated herself from the unity of the Roman chair, she lost at once the privilege of Ecclesiastical freedom. She, who was once free, became the handmaid of the temporal power, so that, by the just judgment of God, she who refused to recognise the Divine Primacy in Peter fell, against her will, under secular dominion."

At length, the Scimitar of Mahomet came, and the Ecumenical Patriarch received his pastoral staff from the Khalif of the False Prophet. Mahomet II. :

"Selected Gennadios as the new orthodox Patriarch, and made use of him as an instrument to obtain for himself, though a Mohammedan Prince, the ancient personal position of the Byzantine Sovereigns as Protector of the Orthodox Church, and Master of the Greek Hierarchy. . . . The rescript of the Sultan has since then always been necessary to authorise a bishop to exercise his ecclesiastical functions in the See to which he has been elected. Waddington says the words of the *berat* of the Sultan were : 'I command you to go and reside as Bishop at . . . according to the ancient custom and to the vain ceremonies of the inhabitants.' The Mohammedan sovereign, as master of the Orthodox Church, retained in his own hands the unlimited power of deposing both Patriarchs and Bishops. The absolute power of condemning every Greek ecclesiastic, whether Patriarch, Monk, or Parish Priest, to exile or death was a prerogative of the Sultan, which was never doubted."*

But the Church of Constantinople has had a daughter Church whose history is equally instructive. It consists of one continuous decline in the matter of ecclesiastical independence. Equally with the history of Constantinople it shows the impotence of an Episcopate unsupported by its corner stone, the See of St. Peter, to exhibit the fundamental feature of the Kingdom of God—viz., self-government, according to its own laws.

It began in dependence on Constantinople, and derived its jurisdiction from the Patriarch of New Rome. The Russian Bishops

* Finlay, "*Greece under Ottoman and Venetian Domination*," pp. 136-138.

sent three names to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who selected one for their Metropolitan, or he confirmed and consecrated one already elected. The Metropolitans were for at least two centuries and a half mostly Greeks. And it was mainly through them that all Eastern Russia was gradually united into one Empire, and the power concentrated in a single autocratic ruler. In the fifteenth century a change took place. Moscow had taken the place of Vladimir, and the Metropolitan of Moscow was elected by a local Synod, and received the symbol of spiritual authority from the Grand Prince. He was still dependent on the chair of Constantinople *de jure*, but no longer so *de facto*. He now, too, became more and more of a lord over the rest of the Bishops, coincidently with the increase of secular absolutism in the Grand Princes of Moscow. Synods became less frequent, as the dioceses increased in extent, and the government of the Church thus grew more and more monarchical. This isolation of the Metropolitan from his Bishops was at once the cause of his increasing grandeur and the occasion of his fall. He became Patriarch, not by the motion of the Church, but by the arrangement of the Grand Prince, with a titular hierarchy of Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops—titles, which Mr. Palmer well calls "the garlands and trappings of a victim already destined to be sacrificed." And now, if we go on to the seventeenth century, we find, as a result, the whole Empire governed by two men, the Tsar and the Patriarch. The Tsar did nothing in the government of the Church without the Patriarch, and the Patriarch was as a rule the willing agent of all that was done. But it was in the nature of things that friction should ensue occasionally at first, but gradually growing to be customary, till the Tsar began to nominate directly to spiritual dignities and offices, and to assume an increasing control over ecclesiastical matters, which provoked little real antagonism until the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1652, a remarkable man called Nikon was appointed Patriarch. His spirit could not brook the Erastianism of the Tsar, and he commenced a struggle, heroic indeed, but foredoomed to be fruitless, with the civil power. He was fighting the battle which St. Thomas of Canterbury fought in England, but with this difference. St. Thomas was under the shelter of our Lord's prayer for Peter. He was amongst the "brethren" whom Peter could strengthen; he was in the great brotherhood of Bishops bound together by the bond of Catholic unity, united to the Apostolic See. But Nikon was fighting the battle against Erastianism in a "national Church" out of communion with the See of Peter, and was, therefore, bound to fail. His theories were true; his perception of the spiritual nature of Christ's Kingdom, and of the impossibility of her coming under the Imperial supremacy without forfeiting her very essence,

entitles him to our respect and sympathy. But they were theories which could not be applied to the circumstances in which he found himself. There was a fact in Russian history which compromised his position, and which he could not undo. The religious body in which he found himself had long ago become in reality, though not in name, a department of the civil rule, which in spiritual matters was bound to govern *through* the Episcopate, but which was the real origin of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Empire. Nikon was out of place and out of date; he fought a heroic fight; but in vain. The Tsar appointed some one in his place willing to be the vicar and instrument of his supremacy; and the Muscovite Church thus became more than ever "national," and a slave. Her spirit was broken. Forty years after Nikon's heroic death, after he had suffered deposition and imprisonment for fifteen years, the subjugation of the Muscovite Episcopacy was completed by the son of Alexis. The renunciation of the divinely instituted government of St. Peter was followed by the most complete subordination to Peter, the Tsar.

The fundamental conception of Peter, which moved the admiration of Voltaire, was the government of the two orders, spiritual and temporal, each through their own College—so that whilst his temporal supremacy was exercised through a Senate, or civil College, his spiritual supremacy was exercised by means of the College of Bishops. This was what he called "the reformation of the spiritual order." He is said to have jocosely called this College his "Patriarch." It contained, of course, the nominal Patriarch and the other Bishops by representation. And the "example of former religious kings both in the Old and New Testament" was quoted as supplying it with a Scriptural type, much as the Article of the Church of England alludes to certain "godly Princes in Holy Scripture" in defence of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's settlement of religion. Who these "religious kings" alluded to in the "spiritual regulation" of Peter the first, or those "godly Princes in Holy Scripture" alluded to in the 37th Article, were, we are not informed. The Old Testament regulations would be a curious precedent to select for the new covenant; and as for the New Testament, the only kings one could select from would be Herod the Great, Herod the Fox, or Herod who slew St. James and cast St. Peter into prison—or Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero.

But Peter the Tsar did not do his work by halves. The oath taken by the College of the Church, as it was called in contradistinction to that of the State, ran thus: "I acknowledge upon oath that our most gracious Sovereign, the monarch of all Russia himself, is the supreme judge of the Spiritual College."

But one step more was wanting. The governing Senate had some one attached to it who was called the "Tsar's Eye"; and a similar functionary was attached to the Spiritual College, and was called the "Ober-Prokuror of the most Holy Governing Synod." The captivity of the Church could not be more complete. Even if the Church of Russia had not come into the world with the ban of schism upon it through its slave-mother the Church of Constantinople, it would have forfeited its place in the kingdom of God on earth by the renunciation of its jurisdiction into the hands of the Tsar in the year of our Lord 1721. Two years before this the Tsar Peter had placed himself on a similar pedestal of infamy with our own Henry VIII.; he had murdered his son and heir after a mock trial, in which he had frightened his clergy and nobles into pronouncing Alexis guilty of death.

Such has been the fate of Constantinople's worldly ambition to be the New Rome, not the Rome of St. Peter and St. Paul, but the Rome of Imperial rank. It has ended with receiving its jurisdiction from the Sultan, whilst its daughter Church in Russia lies in the shame of being governed by a Tsar.

The lesson that history thus teaches is this: a Christian episcopate left to itself, separated from the sheltering strength of the Apostolic See, is no fit champion of that intrinsic freedom which is the most precious inheritance of the Church; it cannot resist the great world power which, beyond all other aims, has this as its primary, dominant object, viz., to subdue to itself the Body of Christ, allowing her indeed to administer her Sacraments if she will only accept mission so to do from itself.

And now, what of the Episcopate in communion with the See of St. Peter? It has exhibited to the world the spectacle of a kingdom complete in itself, of another order beside the temporal, entering from time to time into relations, some more some less satisfactory, with the civil power, always in aim, and theory, and practice, independent of it in regard to its essential laws and supreme sanctions—a monarchy, whose monarch traces his lineage to a Galilean fisherman, who heard from the lips of a carpenter's Son, the short creative words, "Feed My sheep." It consists at this moment in a power which radiates from the See of Rome, and affects the entire world, receiving the homage of some 200,000,000 of the human race.

It was already in existence, when the "Devise for the alteration of religion" was being concocted by a secret council, whose members afterwards completed their labours in the issue of a new Prayer-book, under the most irreligious Queen that has yet occupied the throne of England. The Elizabethan, or, as they were commonly called, the Parliamentary bishops, had not yet been

called into existence. As yet the See of St. Peter held sway over the English Episcopate; they held their Sees, according to their own assertion, of the Bishop of Rome, not "of her Majesty only." Listen to the Bishops of England as they record their faith and testify to the faith of their ancestors in the See of St. Peter. In February, 1559, the clergy with the bishops at their head, draw up a protest against the threatened change of religion, containing five articles, to which they signify their adherence. The fourth is, "that Peter and Peter's successors are Christ's vicars, and supreme rulers in the Church."

Listen again to Henry VIII. in the earlier part of his reign, as he declares the faith of the English Church, and includes in it the supremacy of St. Peter's See, upbraiding Luther for allowing his "wonted pride" to blind him to the necessity of obedience to the Pope from every Christian man. A religion whose bishops held the "spiritualities," as well as the "temporalities" of their Sees, of "his Majesty only" did not yet exist. The power of the Pope did.

Go back one thousand and forty years, and lo! Italy, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Germany, nay, the Roman Empire of the East, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and their subject bishops and people, have united in a common confession of faith, which places the See of St. Peter at the head of the Christian Church, by the appointment of its Divine Lord. Charlemagne had been crowned Emperor of the Romans before St. Peter's shrine, by the hands of St. Peter's successor, and Alfred was just about to receive his first education at Rome under St. Leo the Fourth. Europe was, at least in part, constituted; and the power of St. Peter's See was owned and felt from end to end of the new nations that were rising out of the ruins of the old civilisations.

And now once more, go back yet another 500 years, when the faith of the Church as to the very nature of her Divine Head is being defined for all succeeding ages. Through whom does He preserve His Church in the purity of her original faith, and develop her knowledge as to the full meaning of that faith? One figure, that of the saintly Patriarch of Alexandria, stands out in strong relief; but that figure stands upon a rock. St. Athanasius has recourse to St. Julius, the occupant of St. Peter's See; St. Julius supports him. The great Eastern Sees, each in their turn, fail in those troublous times; St. Peter's See alone stands firm. At Sardica a Council assembles, at which British bishops sit; it assembles *apropos* of St. Julius' action in support of St. Athanasius; and its canons, though lost in the East, are forthwith reckoned worthy of being numbered amongst the Nicene, as an appendix to them. The Council decides that all bishops should,

in case of sufficient necessity, "refer to the Head, that is, "the See of the Apostle Peter." * Rome is, then, St. Peter's See. St. Augustine is held to the Catholic Church by that succession of bishops, as he tells us, which traces itself up to St. Peter; and the See of Rome, he tells us, is that "wherein the headship of the Apostolic See has always been in force."

But further still. It is the first general council of the Christian Church, and lo! the doctrine is there. The heading of the sixth canon in the Western version runs thus:—"The Roman Church always had the primacy." The Easterns do not dispute the fact. The Archdeacon of Constantinople seems to have remarked that that was not the heading of the canon in the Eastern version; but no discussion followed. So far as the records go, the fact contained in the Western version was not disputed. But the great Patriarchates of the East were bidden to follow the norm of Roman organisation in regard to the bishops of their rule. They had met, according to St. Damasus' account, under the direction of St. Sylvester; they were presided over by his representative and legates, and the decrees were sent to him.

Go back a little further, and the great St. Irenæus is entreating the occupant of St. Peter's See not to cut off from the "common unity," as the latter expressed it, those who did not promptly accept the ruling of Rome as to their observance of Easter. The Saint betrays no consciousness of a usurpation of power on the part of the See of Rome; he only mediates for its clement exercise.

And now once more. At the very birth of Christian literature the subject of those priceless Clementine Epistles, which have been preserved out of the wreck for more than eighteen centuries, concerns the organisation of this new kingdom. The monarch himself speaks. He,† with his local Council, the "Church of the Romans," settles a dispute that has arisen at Corinth concerning the deprivation of certain members of the Episcopate. He decides that certain persons should not be degraded from their high and holy office. "These we judge it not consonant with justice to deprive of their office. For it will be no light sin in us to deprive of the Episcopate those who offer the gifts blamelessly and holily." He tells them in the same letter that "you will give us great joy and gladness if you render obedience to the things written by us through the Holy Spirit," whilst he has already said that, "if certain persons should be disobedient unto the words spoken by Him through us, let them understand

* The Canons of Sardica were inserted in his collection by John Scholasticus, and by Photius in his *Nomocanon*.

† St. Clement.

that they will entangle themselves in no slight transgression." Compare these words, their tone of authority, the certain consciousness which they evince of the possession of supernatural assistance, with the Rescripts of Popes for 1800 years and the simple and majestic words of the Vatican decree, and the conclusion would seem to be inevitable that from the age of St. Clement to the nineteenth century, the kingdom of Peter is of one jet—a continuous power, one harmonious whole.

The kingdom of Peter—for with him it began, under Christ, the King of Eternal Glory. It began after Pentecost with miracle; another Moses, as Peter was represented in earliest Christian art, drawing the streams of grace from the Rock of Ages, and alone of men, with the exception of the first Moses, invested by early art with the emblem of power, the rod in hand, Peter appears on the platform of sacred history singled out from the rest by the halo of unparalleled miracle. His shadow, his mere shadow, is invested with supernatural power, and his alone. And the Apostolic College is described as "Peter and the eleven," "Peter with the rest."

And now we shall pass into the inner sanctuary of divine truth and life, to our Lord Himself, as He singles out one in promise, and finally invests him with his sacred office.

There are three texts in the Gospels which form the central scriptural proof of the Supremacy of St. Peter. They occur severally in St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John. St. Mark alone is silent, as was natural, seeing that his Gospel was a summary of the oral teaching of the Apostle Peter himself.

And these three texts are the complement of others that reveal the common authority of the Apostolic body. The mistake into which non-Catholic interpreters of Holy Scripture invariably fall in dealing with the Petrine texts, consists in their not fairly discriminating between two classes of passages, concerning the powers of the Apostolic College. These together form an exact picture of the organisation of the Catholic Church at this moment, prescinding always those charismata which were peculiar to the Apostles, and clearly not to be of permanent inheritance. Apart from these, the College of the Apostles is exactly reproduced in the Church by the College of Bishops. In this College there are, at this hour, first, the body of Bishops; and secondly, the supreme or head Bishop, each being, according to Catholic doctrine, of divine institution. The head Bishop or supreme pastor cannot dispense with the rest of the Episcopate, and permanently govern the Church by vicars, not in Episcopal orders. The Episcopate is a divine ordinance. Neither can the Episcopate without its head govern the Church; for its head is part of itself and equally of divine institution. In a word, the

College of Bishops includes one, who, by Divine right, is the sovereign, though not the only, authority.

Such is the constitution of the Church. And it exactly corresponds with two sets of passages in Holy Scripture, in which our Lord spoke to the Apostles of powers, in the way of promise, or in the act of bestowal. One set of passages contains words addressed to the Apostles collectively; the other, words addressed to St. Peter singly. Bossuet's happy expression concerning Matt. xvi. gives the key to their interpretation: "The sequel does not reverse the commencement."

What is given to St. Peter singly, is not deprived of its singular force, by its being bestowed also on the Apostles collectively. Its proper force must be given to each class of passages. Any interpretation which gives no meaning to either one of the two sets of passages fails to do justice to the words of Him who never spoke in vain. Now the Catholic interpretation combines and harmonises the two. Taking the words addressed to the Apostles collectively (viz., Matt. xxviii. 18-20, Mark xvi. 15-20, Luke xxiv. 46-49, Acts i. 3-9, John xiv., &c., xx. 21-23), we have a supernatural power conveyed to the Apostles as a body, co-extensive with that body, and as permanent as the body itself.*

Taking the words addressed to St. Peter singly (Matt. xvi. 17-19, Luke xxii. 31, 32, John xxi. 15-17), we have a power of headship superadded to the former power which was conveyed to the Apostles as a college. This headship is conveyed in various terms, each of them indicating sovereignty, together expressing it with cumulative evidence, and each indicating not collective sovereignty given to a college of men, but the sovereignty proper to a single person. They are—the rock—the keys—power to bind and loose given singly, thus already ranging under his power others who were to share it in subordination—confirmer of the brethren—shepherd of the flock. So that, comparing what is said to the Apostles as a body with what is said to St. Peter singly, we find that while they received nothing without him, he received a power including and crowning theirs. The terms of conveyance in the two cases are indeed of similar majesty and simplicity, being the language of God in the sovereign disposition of His gifts; but in the case of St. Peter there is greater definiteness,† and to him our Lord constantly employs the form of parable. The rock, the key-bearer, the confirmer (an architectural image), the shepherd, are parabolic expressions. Such imagery is capable of wider application than any other form of speaking, and contains in it an amount of instruction which direct language can only convey at a much greater length. None of it is given to

* Allies' "Church and State," pp. 154-60.

† *Ibid.* p. 160.

any Apostle by himself, except Peter; what the rest receive of it together, as in the case of the power of binding and loosing, first promised and then given to them collectively, is greatly exceeded by what he receives alone. And their commission, and his, throw light upon each other. The Papacy and the Episcopate are their joint result; give its full force to the Apostolic commission, and Christ is with the one universal Episcopate all days to the consummation of the world. Give the same full force to the words addressed to Peter, and he feeds the flock of Christ until the second coming of the Great Shepherd. Perpetuity enters equally into both.

By the Vatican decree, each of these three passages referring to St. Peter singly, is quoted. But we shall confine our attention here to two only passages, for the simple reason that they have been neglected by non-Catholic interpreters, and yet, but for the overpowering influence of a tradition which dates only from the sixteenth century, they would, as plain as words could do so, indicate the appointment of St. Peter to a Divine Primacy, which was to be a feature of the Church for all time.

The first of these texts to which we allude occurs in St. Luke, chap. 22. It is that evangelist's single contribution to the history of the Petrine privilege. A contest had arisen as to the person who should be the greater in the Apostolic College. Our Lord does not put aside the contest, but proceeds to determine it. He draws the strongest contrast between heathen domination, as it was then, and had been in past time, and the government of His kingdom, as it was yet to be. There was to be "a greater" and "a leader," but he was to resemble our Lord Himself. "I am in the midst of you as he that serveth." So was their superior, their leader (ὁ ἡγούμενος), to be in the future. He was to exercise, not a domination which had become the mark of Gentile kings, but a service for the good of the governed, such as Christ in all His ministry had shown. Our Lord proceeds to speak positively of the kingdom which He was setting up, and of the place in it which the Apostles should hold. "You are they who have continued with Me in My temptations, and I appoint to you, as My Father hath appointed to Me, a kingdom; that you may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom, and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Here, then, our Lord tells them that there should be not only one superior who was to resemble Himself in character as in place, "the greater and the leader" (v. 26), but the college of twelve, sitting on thrones, and judging the whole people of God. The kingdom and its rulers are correlative and co-enduring. And the rulers had reference to the Sacred Feast and Sacrifice, the Feast upon the Sacrifice, in His kingdom; and to the tribunal which is so closely connected with

the Sacred Feast, which our Lord was then instituting. What is this but the description of the heirs of the Apostles in their work at the Altar and in the tribunal of Penance?

And then our Lord speaks of the attack on the rulers of His kingdom, which it would seem was to be both in the future and continuous. He turns to the one whom He had surnamed Peter, and to whom He had promised the keys of the kingdom of heaven. "And the Lord said, 'Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you (plural) that he may sift you (plural) as wheat. But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and thou in turn * confirm thy brethren.'"

The safety of the Apostolic College was to lie in the infallibility of one; and the safety of that one was to lie in the power of our Lord's intercession. St. Peter seems to have thought that our Lord was speaking only of the present moment, but our Lord corrects him, and tells him that in the present he will fail; but that a new era is coming, in which things will be different.

This, then, is the divine description of the future—the kingdom with its Sacrificial Feast, and the rulers of the kingdom superintending that Feast upon a Sacrifice, and exercising the office of judges in the tribunals of the Church—one amongst the rulers to be superior, the leader, following in the steps of the Divine Teacher and Lord—the rulers ceaselessly attacked by the foe of our nature, and sifted by the trial, but strengthened and upheld in their sifting by one who should be in the matter of faith infallible, and that in consequence of the intercession of their Divine Head. What is this but the Order of the Church, according to Catholic teaching, at this hour?

Bossuet says of the text, *Thou art Peter, &c.*:

"Say not, think not, that this ministry of St. Peter terminates with him; that which is to serve for support to an eternal Church can never have an end. Peter will always live in his successors; Peter will always speak in his chair. This is what the Fathers say."

And of this text in St. Luke he says, with his inimitable felicity of expression:

"St. Peter received the charge to confirm his brethren. Who were these brethren? The Apostles, the pillars of the Church. Who much more the centuries that followed?"

And of this interpretation also we may say, "This is what the Fathers say."

Were we, indeed, to believe Janus, we should imagine that "not a single doctor of the Church, down to the end of the

* This is probably the correct rendering. But the translation "When thou art converted," will suit the argument just as well.

seventh century, has given the interpretation of this text," which we have seen above to be the plain natural meaning, and which has received the stamp of authority in the Vatican decree. But here, as elsewhere, Janus is at fault in his facts. His remark, too, with its supposed conclusion, is sophistical. No doctor of the Church has given a conflicting interpretation, and what Janus assumes as a fact—viz., that none has given the Catholic interpretation, would be reduced to the smallest possible value, when we consider that it can only mean that no doctor had touched at all on the question of its bearing on the successors of St. Peter. It is important to bear this in mind. At a time when there was no dispute as to the infallibility of the Holy See, a commentator would not necessarily go out of his way to speak of the bearing of a text on an error which had not been broached. He would explain the passage as it bore on St. Peter personally; its bearing on the successors of St. Peter would, on the Catholic supposition, be obvious. If, for instance, St. Ambrose dealt with a passage such as this, and explained it simply in its relation to St. Peter himself, it would be clearly inadmissible to argue that he excluded all reference to his successors. For we know from another passage that St. Ambrose applied the privileges of Peter to the Bishops of Rome. Such a line of argument as Janus adopted would be fatal to many an evidence of our Lord's Divinity.

But what if, in the end of the seventh century, to which Janus alludes, the interpretation of the text is publicly assumed as the normal one, universally admitted? Such is actually the case. St. Agatho applied the words "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not," &c. to the successors of St. Peter in the See of Rome. He assigns the actual inerrancy of that See during the preceding centuries as the fulfilment of our Lord's intercession for the infallibility of His Apostle Peter, in a letter to the Sixth General Council. The General Council heard the interpretation, placed the letter among its archives, and made the remark concerning it "Peter has spoken by Agatho." Is it possible to conceive a more emphatic asseveration of the inerrancy of the Holy See? Pope and Council, or, as we should prefer to say, the entire General Council, which includes its own head, set their seal to that interpretation of the words, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not," which applied them to the See of St. Peter. Amongst the privileges of that See they reckoned that of infallibility, and the See of Rome was, in their judgment, the See of that Apostle. A successor of St. Peter might, of course, for a moment fail to *exercise* his gift of infallibility, as Honorius had; and on that account he would be justly blamed for neglect, as Honorius was; but if he taught the Church at all in the solemn exercise of his high office, he would be secure of divine assistance. There is no con-

tradiction in the condemnation of Honorius, after his death, for neglecting to stamp out the first sparks of a heresy which grew beyond all calculation, and the assertion that the See of St. Peter was secure of divine assistance in its public exposition of the faith to the whole Church. A private letter to a wily heretic, not known to be a heretic through his studiously concealing his heresy—a letter first published, not by the Pope, but by some one else after his death—might be sufficient proof that the said Pope had been entrapped for the moment by the untruthfulness of an Eastern Patriarch—but it could be nothing more. And this is the case of Honorius. As a matter of fact, the particular heresy was crushed by the determined action of the Holy See. So that, taking the history of that heresy as a whole, it is true that Peter's faith did not fail, and that Peter did, in that matter, strengthen his brethren.

And as to the actual faith of the particular Pope, we have the witness of St. Maximus, contemporary confessor for the very truth in question, and martyr, that Honorius was personally orthodox ; and let us say it emphatically, the witness of St. Maximus is worth a thousand so-called "scientific" interpretations by any German professor in the nineteenth century.

It remains, then, that the Church of God did, in fullest possible representation, set its seal on that interpretation of the text, which is but repeated and endorsed in the Vatican decree. Pope and Council, that is, the entire Council (for the bishops without their head are not, strictly speaking, the Council), did interpret the words of our Lord, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not," of the infallibility of the See of Rome, when St. Agatho quoted them as the ground of its inerrancy, and the assembled bishops exclaimed of his letter, "Peter hath spoken by Agatho."

But is Janus correct in saying that "not a single doctor of the Church" had previously given to the text this same interpretation ? The assertion is absolutely untrue. To say nothing of Bishop Stephen of Dora, the envoy of St. Saphronius of Jerusalem, the interpretation had been given by Pope Gelasius and by St. Gregory the Great, but—and here we must express our astonishment at Janus's misstatement—it had also been given by St. Leo the Great more than two centuries before ! Can a writer be considered trustworthy who, on such a point, ignores, or is ignorant of, a passage occurring in such a well-known letter as that in which St. Leo interprets this text of the See of St. Peter, and its unfailing strength ? *

* It is strange to what an extent Anglicans have allowed themselves to be misled by Janus. To our certain knowledge it has been continually recommended by Oxford divines to those who are wavering in their allegiance to the "Church of England," as a convenient summary of the case as against

The third great text is the "*Pasce ovas Meas*" of St. John's Gospel.

The usual Anglican interpretation of this is, that it was the occasion of deepening St. Peter's repentance, or of restoring him to his Apostolate. Mr. Allies is quite at his best in the exposition of the whole passage, which he calls "The investiture of Peter." He shows, *en passant*, that if St. Peter had needed any restoration to his Apostolate, he had received it on Easter evening, when our Lord said to all the Apostles, "Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven," &c. And he shows that the meaning of the text cannot be exhausted by the supposition that our Lord wished to deepen His Apostle's repentance. The command, "Feed" (or, as in the second instance, "shepherd, *i.e.*, govern, rule, provide for, superintend") "My sheep," must contain something special, whatever may have been the import of the threefold repetition of the question, "Lovest thou Me?" The words are plain, and nothing, again, but a sixteenth century tradition, which has taken hold of the minds of Anglicans, can explain their inability to see the force of the command. What must that charge be, the preliminary condition for which is a greater love for Jesus than that of the beloved disciple? What could be a fitting sequel to "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me more than these?" What, again, the importance of that office in bestowing which our Lord thrice repeats the condition, and thrice inculcates the charge? The words of God are not spoken at random, nor His repetitions without effect. What, again, are the subjects of the charge? They are "My lambs," and "My sheep." That is the fold itself, the entire fold of the Great Shepherd. As before the Resurrection our Lord had promised the Apostles powers in common, and also spoken of powers peculiar to Peter; so also the fulfilment divides itself into two. There was something given after the Resurrection to all in common; and there was something here given to Peter alone. Thus, St. Ambrose, in the West, commenting on the passage says, "He (Peter) is preferred to all." "On the point of ascending into heaven, He was leaving as it were the Vicar of His love," "that he who was the more perfect might have the government;" and St. Chrysostom in the East, says: "He puts into his hands the

Rome; and Mr. Gore, in the last edition of his "*Roman Catholic Claims*," has singled it out for special commendation. One would suppose that they had never read Hergenröther's crushing reply, which he concludes with the following words:

"I enter a solemn protest against this book of Janus, in the interests of science, which has been utterly abused, as well as in the interests of the Church, which has been shamefully outraged; while, at the same time, mankind at large are but ill served by sophistries and misrepresentations."

presidency over the brethren"; "he elected "Peter not to be the teacher of this throne," *i.e.*, of Jerusalem, as James was, "but of the whole world," and he calls those purchased by the blood of Christ "the sheep which He committed to Peter and those after him." And Theophylact, seven hundred years later, gives the tradition of the East, saying: "He puts into Peter's hands the headship over the sheep of the whole world, and to no other but him gives He this."

This was the interpretation of the text given by East and West in the Council of Florence, which was accepted by the English Church. Indeed, if we wished for a *reductio ad absurdum* of the claim to continuity with the old Church of England, so frequently made nowadays by members of the Establishment, we have it to perfection in the modern Anglican interpretation of these words, "Feed My sheep." The Church of England was represented at and received the second Council of Lyons. Could contradiction be more complete than between the pronouncements of that Council as to the government of Christ's flock and the position of the Establishment at this present moment? The infallibility of the Holy See was accepted at that Council. The Anglican Establishment is built on the denial of any divinely appointed supremacy of one See over another. The Church of England accepted the Council of Florence; that Council interpreted the text "Feed My sheep" of a Primacy divinely bestowed on the Apostolic See. Again, St. Anselm says: "It is certain that he who does not obey the ordinances of the Roman Pontiff . . . is disobedient to the Apostle Peter . . . nor is he of that flock which was given to him by God," alluding to the *Pasce oves Meas*. Now, St. Anselm was Archbishop of Canterbury. But the present legal holder of that title belongs to a religion whose very essence consists in a repudiation of the ordinances of the Roman Pontiff. St. Anselm applies "Feed My lambs" to St. Peter's See; the present legal Archbishop of Canterbury must resign his position if he agreed with St. Anselm as to the very foundation of the Church as laid by our Lord.

Mr. Allies produces a passage from one writer of the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, whose witness being that of one who had been in contact with various parts of the Church, has a special value. Cassian was by birth a Scythian, was educated in a monastery at Bethlehem, travelled through Egypt, and made himself acquainted with its most distinguished religious races; went to Constantinople, and was ordained deacon by St. Chrysostom, and afterwards priest at Rome by Innocent I. On the capture of Rome by Alaric, he settled at Marseilles, about the year 410, and there founded two monasteries. In Cassian we

have piety, acquaintance with East and West, and undoubted intelligence. In his work on the Incarnation, he says,

"Let us ask him, who is supreme, both as disciple among disciples, and as a teacher among teachers, who, steering the course of the Roman Church, held the supremacy as well of the faith as of the priesthood. Tell us, therefore, tell us, we pray, O Peter, Prince of the Apostles, tell us how the Churches ought to believe . . . because it is certain that no one shall be able to enter the door of the Kingdom, save he to whom the key placed by thee in the Church shall open it."

Compare with this St. Anselm's allusion to the "Feed My sheep," given above. St. Anselm and Cassian are at one—the present Archbishop of Canterbury holds an entirely different faith. Compare once more what his Grace holds with the faith of St. Isidore, Bishop of Seville, from 598 to 636, the very highest of the ancient Spanish doctors, who writes to Eugenius of Toledo :

"But as to the question of the equality of the Apostles, Peter is pre-eminent over the rest . . . to whom also after the resurrection of the Son of God, was said: 'Feed My lambs,' noting by the name of lambs the prelates of the Churches. And, although the dignity of this power is derived to all Catholic Bishops, yet in a more special manner it remains for ever in the Roman Bishop, who is by a certain singular privilege set as the head over the other limbs. Whoso, therefore, renders not reverently to him due obedience, involves himself, as being severed from the head, in the schism of the Acephali."

To this schism of the Acephali belong the legal Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln, who are at present in public disagreement as to how to perform the highest act of Christian worship. And according to St. Anselm, the great Archbishop of Canterbury, they neither of them "belong to that flock which was given to Peter by our Lord." It is part of their position to maintain, indeed, *with* St. Isidore, "that the dignity of their power is derived to all Catholic Bishops;" but they are in conflict with St. Isidore, who teaches that this power does "in a more special manner remain for ever in the Roman Bishop." It is part of their position to maintain *with* Bossuet, that power to bind and loose was to pass on from the Apostles to Catholic Bishops, and *against* Bossuet, that the sequel reversed the commencement, and, though our Lord gave first and singly to Peter, what He afterwards, in a manner gave to the Apostles in common, yet Peter either had no singular power himself, or at any rate had no privilege to hand on to others after him. Whereas Bossuet, after saying that with reason greater love is asked of him, forasmuch as he has a greater dignity with a

greater charge, alluding to the words, "Feed My sheep," says "the ecclesiastical authority, first established in the person of one alone, has only been diffused on the condition of being always brought back to the principle of its unity, and that all those who shall have to exercise it ought to hold themselves inseparably united to the same chair."

We would gladly linger on this subject of the scriptural evidence of St. Peter's primacy—a primacy, let it be observed, which does not interfere with an equality of order in the rest, but does involve jurisdictional superiority. But we must refer our readers to the very powerful pages in which Mr. Allies sums up the whole scriptural argument, and content ourselves with noticing one point which has always played a prominent part in what, alas! we must call the controversy on this subject; and that is, the scene at Antioch. In an article on "the Church," in "*Lux Mundi*," the name Peter occurs once (with which we may compare St. Ambrose, saying *Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia*) and that one mention is an allusion to the scene at Antioch, about which all that this new exhibition of Oxford Biblical criticism has to say is that Peter played the part of a separatist. He was not sufficiently comprehensive. In point of fact, as Archdeacon Wilberforce noticed—"In the brief chronicle of the Apostolic Church, which has been left us in twelve chapters in the Book of Acts, St. Peter's figure is not only in the foreground, but so conspicuous that his position might almost be compared to that which Christ himself had so recently occupied towards His disciples." But although Oxford divinity once did much in the way of introducing the study of the Fathers, it did not succeed in destroying the Protestant tradition on this subject, and introducing any one of the Patristic interpretations of Galatians, ii., 14.

It was a favourite text with the Gnostics and Marcionites, quoted to accuse the Apostles of ignorance. Porphyry who, as St. Jerome says, "raged against Christ like a mad dog," tried by this passage to weaken the authority of the Apostles. Julian, the Apostate, used it to bring discredit on the Christian religion. It was the *pièce de resistance* of those who, in the 16th century, assailed the prerogatives of St. Peter.

Amongst the Fathers there were three lines of interpretation, each of them in emphatic contradiction to the teaching of that 16th century and to that of modern Anglicans. The earliest interpretation, that of the first three centuries, saw someone else, not the Apostle, in "Cephas," on the ground, as St. Jerome narrates, that "occasion would be given to Porphyry's blasphemies, if we could believe either that Peter had erred, or that Paul had impertinently censured the Prince of the Apostles,"—

an important evidence as the universal belief as to St. Peter's position.

The second line, adopted by St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril, and, for a while, by St. Jerome himself, was to the effect that there was no actual dissension, but that the scene was pre-arranged. Peter, out of fear of the Judaisers, *i.e.*, fearing lest they should apostatise, had withdrawn in kindly feeling, from certain social intercourse with the Gentile converts. He saw this to be a mistake, and, agreeing of course with St. Paul as to the doctrine (for he was as infallible as the rest of the Apostles), he decided that St. Paul should reprehend his care for the weak brethren, and that he would openly adopt that Apostle's recommendation. In every commentary that adopts this line of interpretation, St. Peter's primacy is taken for granted.

The third interpretation, that of the Latin Fathers, consists in the admission that there was real difference, but it carefully points out that it was a matter of conduct, not of doctrine. And they lay stress on the courage of the one Apostle, and the humility of the other. But the humility of St. Peter consisted according to them, not in the mere fact of his accepting reproof, but in his accepting it although he was St. Paul's superior. He did not press his high position, nor resent the action of the subordinate apostle.

This is the gist of St. Cyprian's explanation, in a passage which is often pressed into the service of Protestantism.

"Not even Peter, whom first the Lord chose, and upon whom He built His Church . . . claimed aught *proudly* or assumed aught *arrogantly* to himself, saying that he held the primacy, and that obedience rather was done to him by those younger and later."

That is to say, he might have pressed the superior position he held, given to him by our Lord, but out of humility he refrained. He did not say, *true as it was*, that he held the primacy. And so St. Augustine, who gives it as a warrant for inferiors on occasion resisting their superiors. "Paul then has the praise of just liberty, and Peter of holy humility."

And they insist upon it, that the whole matter was one of conduct, not of doctrine. St. Peter had long ago admitted the Gentiles into the Church, and declared that they were not bound by the law. He had laid down the dogmatic principle at the Council at Jerusalem. But out of regard for the feelings of others, and fearing their apostacy, as St. Chrysostom explains the expression "fearing the Jews," *i.e.*, fearing for them, he adopted a line of conduct which they mistook for approval of their Judaising tendencies, and which needed therefore to be cleared up.

It must always be remembered that all the Apostles were infallible in matters of faith, and that, according to Catholic teaching, all the Apostles were equal in point of order, of spiritual rank, of all that comes under the head of the sacerdotium, but that Peter, without being above the rest in all that was essential to the Apostolate, was the "greater," of whom our Lord spoke—the "leader" (ὁ ἡγούμενος) who was to be like his Lord in character, in humility, whilst he was to take his place in the matter of jurisdiction. So in this very Epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul "went up to see Peter," and only Peter—not even St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, but St. Peter only—"of the rest saw I none." The Greek and Latin writers alike see in this a recognition of St. Peter's authority. "Not needing doctrines from man, as having received it from the God of all, he gives the fitting honour to the chief," says Theodoret, of St. Paul's visit to Jerusalem. "After so many deeds," says St. Chrysostom, "needing nothing of Peter nor of his instruction, but being his equal in rank, for I will say no more here, still he goes up to him as to the greater and elder"—his equal in the Apostolic dignity and the immediate reception of his authority from Christ, but yet his inferior in the range of his jurisdiction, Peter being "greater and elder." And elsewhere St. Chrysostom, commenting on the charge, Feed My sheep, asks "Why then, passing by the rest, does He converse with him (Peter) on these things?" And he replies, Peter "was the one preferred among the Apostles, and the mouthpiece of the disciples and the leader of the band; therefore, too, Paul then went up to visit him rather than the rest." And so Tertullian speaks of St. Paul going up to see Peter "according to duty"—and Ambrosiaster, "because he (Peter) was first among the Apostles, to whom the Saviour had committed the care of the Churches"—and St. Jerome, rejecting various other motives for the Apostle's visit, ends with saying it was "to show honour to the first Apostle."

But enough. If any one were to consider the sort of proofs which he is in the habit of adducing from Holy Scripture for the divinity of our Lord, and compare them with the abundance and directness of the proof for the primacy of St. Peter, he will, we think, find it difficult to deny this much, viz., that if any form of unity was meant to be impressed on the Church by our Lord; if any type of the Church's organisation is to be sought within Holy Scripture, it can only be that, which as a matter of fact, exists in the Catholic Roman Church. The Catholic teaching is that Jesus Christ conferred the Episcopate on St. Peter in all its fulness and sovereignty, and that He conferred it also on all the Apostolic College, presided over by St. Peter; each Apostle had a full and universal power in the whole Church, but with sub-

ordination to St. Peter. In other words, the Church came from our Lord's hands, with the articulation of its organic life settled by His own institution; the kingdom was left with its essential features sketched by Him for all time; the household started with its organisation arranged by His own words, ere He ascended into Heaven to fill all things, and, beyond all, His own Mystical Body with the life of the Holy Ghost. That kingdom has spread itself through the ages and through the world, and with its expanding life has exhibited with increasing plainness indeed and developing proportions, and more defined accentuation of the original lines, the features impressed on it from the first. "Peter and the rest," "Peter and those with him," Peter and his brethren, the Holy Apostolic See, and the divinely appointed Episcopate, such is the organisation of the kingdom, such the form of its government, such the body which with its own source of life, and that life independent in its essence of the kingdoms of the earth, has lived, survived all else, and with a history of nineteen centuries, proclaims its identity to-day with the little band which began its career on the day of Pentecost. It began on that day with the teaching of Peter, and with the discipline of Apostolic obedience, and the three thousand souls are succeeded to-day by more than 200,000,000, whose homage circulates round the fisherman's throne, which is that throne of David that is to last whilst sun and moon endure.

It follows from all that has been said, that it was no more competent to Elizabeth, Lord Burghley, Thomas Barlow, Scory, Hodgkins and Coverdale, to place Parker in possession of the See of Canterbury, without reference to, and the sanction of, the occupant of the See of St. Peter, than it would be for Mr. Michael Davitt, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Dillon, to place Mr. Parnell on the throne of Ireland, without reference to, or the sanction of, her gracious Majesty. Indeed, far less so; for the existence of the British Empire is, after all, not of divine institution; the See of St. Peter is. One can conceive circumstances in which Home Rule would be justified without arrangement with the English Throne; but ecclesiastical Home Rule, secured by simple violence, or the decision of the interested parties alone, can only be ecclesiastical rebellion. The Church is a kingdom which cannot be dismembered; it may be reduced in its area, it may be shorn of a province, but it remains complete in itself, though impoverished in the number of its subjects. When the transfer of supremacy from the Holy See to the Crown was effected in the sixteenth century, the constitution which our Lord settled for His Church, was invaded, and a new religion was *ipso facto* set on foot.

LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A.

ART. II.—THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

IT has been observed, with no small show of reason, that the greatest event that ever happened in the history of trade and commerce, was the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope. When Vasco de Gama found the long sea route to India, to Ceylon, and the Golden Chersonese, he wrote the epitaph and sealed up the record of Venice and Genoa, transferring, though he guessed it not, the sceptre of commerce, the traffic in all waters, from the Catholic South to Holland, England, and Protestantism. The determining events of history seem to come about in a sequence and grouping, which have a strange dramatic connection; there are third and fifth acts in the great world-chronicle; nor would any thoughtful person deny that the opening of the gates of the sea by Portuguese explorers, the discovery of America, the Renaissance, and the Reformation belong to a cycle of their own, are intimately connected as causes and effects, have created modern Europe, and are still leading on to consequences of the weightiest moment. But for my present purpose, as will be seen before I have finished these remarks, the most notable of all sequences has been that by which commerce, from the end of the sixteenth century, has followed the Protestant flag.

Thereupon ensued the decay of Venice, and the heroic uprising of Holland. But, as the event proved, it was England, not Holland, with which was to remain the Empire of the seas. Between the subjects of Elizabeth and those of Philip II., as soon as they were beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts at home, there was for a long term of years incessant warfare, and the Northern power waxed as the Southern and devotedly Catholic waned.

With a sense that it was the mission of a Protestant Englishman [says Mr. Froude] to spoil the Amalekites (in other words the gold ships from Panama, or the richly-laden Flemish traders), the merchants at the seaports, the gentlemen whose estates touched upon the creeks and rivers, and to whom the sea from childhood had been a natural home, fitted out their vessels under the name of traders, and sent them forth armed to the teeth, with vague commissions, to take their chance of what the gods might send.*

By such methods was made a beginning of the British colonial Empire, which, though now broken into two great pieces, the

* "History of England," vol. viii. ch. 47, p. 17.

English and the American, remains in its ideal one, and is even now laying the broad foundations of industry, law, government, and social existence on which the world of the next century, and the century after that, seems likely to be set up. The permanent conquests of trade belong to English-speaking races. The motive-powers of machinery, steam, coal, and electricity have fallen to them by a sort of natural inheritance. Adam Smith has risen up among them as a prophet; Arkwright, Watt, Stephenson, Faraday, Edison, are their heroes. London is the centre of the world's business; and New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, the depôts of the American Continent, speak the English language, *parce detorta*, instead of the French or the Spanish that might have fallen to their lot.

Now the outcome of these three hundred years spent in maritime adventures, in stern and bloody uprootings of savage, or ancient, or helpless tribes, in adding invention to invention, in digging out great docks, and building larger and larger vessels, in subduing the forces of nature, and using up brain and heart in the pursuit of "wealth"—that is to say, of money and what money will purchase—is commonly known as "modern civilisation." It has necessarily an intellectual side, concerning which I will inquire by-and-by. But first of all it means the conquest of matter, "Replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over it." Never since the world was, have mankind possessed such an abundance of the things that minister to physical life and comfort. The basket and the store which science fills are overflowing with all that is good for food and pleasant to the eyes. Thanks to steam and the telegraph, the whole earth has become one garden, in which if a part is blighted the rest will furnish sustenance to make up the loss. And while in the most crowded and busy nations the population may be increasing threefold, the means of feeding, clothing, and sheltering them increase fivefold; so that, until the present day, Malthus, if not refuted in the abstract, is at any rate dumbfounded by statistics.* How to produce wealth in an ever multiplying ratio is no longer a problem; for it has been solved. The sign, if not the cause of commercial panics, which one would imagine ought to have been a scarcity of things to buy and consume, is actually the superabundance of commodities. Were this told now in some whimsical tale of Swift's, we should laugh and applaud his inventiveness. But when it is announced in the morning papers, we do not dream of laughing. We admit the fact, and draw long faces. There are, it appears, in such a case, so many more consumable goods than are wanted, that charitable persons at once set about

* See *Contemporary Review*, December 1883, p. 858.

forming relief committees, in order to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, who will be thrown upon the world by an overstocked market. As George Eliot somewhere observes, "The harvest was a splendid one, and the farmers were ruined."

Perhaps this unlooked-for tragedy of abundance may suggest that the methods even of producing wealth require to be overhauled. But, anyhow, the laws of production for the market are simplicity itself compared with those of distribution. It is quite easy to go on creating a given article till the warehouses overflow; the question imperiously raised by Mr. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" is how to divide among the members of society what has been in this manner produced, so that every one shall have a just and reasonable share of it. And here we enter upon a dense thicket of inquiries, all ramifying into one another, with a thousand cross-branchings and entanglements, out of which who can point to an issue? Suppose, however, that, mindful of the curious phenomena of "over-production," we are led to ask the previous question—viz., What is the purpose of wealth?—may we not find, in endeavouring to answer it, the clue of which we are in quest? The science of political economy, like every other, is determined by its object; and being a practical science, its object is the end to be realised. That end, as is known even to Mr. Vanderbilt, cannot be money-making, for money is but the medium or instrument of exchange. Nor can it be simply the manufacture of commodities for the market, since those things only are bought and sold for which there is a demand, and the demand comes from human beings, and human beings judge of what is useful and pleasant according to a standard which varies with their religion, civilisation, moral instincts, and the motives of every sort by which they may be influenced. Supply and demand, in short, are regulated by the kind of life which men desire to live. So that, in framing a true science of political economy, we find ourselves compelled to inquire what that is which makes the life of mankind human in the proper sense of the word, or what is the ideal of society as determined by reason.

But no sooner have we put this question than we are thrown back, necessarily, from the present era of gambling on 'Change, and killing swine at Chicago, to the days of that mighty quarrel between Catholicism and the Reformed Churches, to which I made allusion in my opening paragraph. Quite true it is that from the year 1500 onwards, "the choice of the ways was offered to the nations"; and we may even grant (with the due explanation of terms) that on the one side was "liberty, with the untried possibilities of anarchy and social dissolution; on the other, the reinvigoration of the creeds and customs of ten centuries, in which

Christendom had grown to its present stature."* It has been repeatedly urged, indeed, that Luther, Knox, and Calvin, with their Puritan followers, inaugurated a strait asceticism, which was far less indulgent to human nature than the Catholic Church had shown herself to be. Upon which I will merely observe that if the revolt of the Puritans from art and science (which is an ascertained fact) was due to religious-seeming motives, its great and ever-growing result has been a hard love of gain, a secular money-grasping spirit, and a "covetousness which is the serving of idols." Mammon, let us never forget, is "the least erected spirit that fell." And the civilisation which he has created, though it were made out of the golden floor of heaven itself, is essentially base and mechanical. Thanks to him, "liberty" in the long run has meant Individualism, *Chacun pour soi, chacun chez soi*. To make a private fortune has been everything; and the man would have been thought insane who should sincerely declare that he was laying up wealth for the benefit of the State or of others. The Reformed religion, unpeopling heaven of its saints and angels, breaking the communion with the Unseen, and substituting for the familiar Paradise which Frà Angelico has depicted, the illimitable azure (with or without an abstract God and a legal atonement), left only the material world as a solid, palpable reality. Its disciples were set loose from the old superstitions, as they deemed them; but the oldest of all, that which believes in what the senses handle and enjoy, they clave to more firmly than ever. They did not care for art. Their lives were in no sense beautiful; on the contrary, they were unspeakably dull and wearisome, abounding in "immense ennui." Their God was a severe taskmaster; their worship of Him a routine of flattery, in which they can have hardly expected Him to believe. And their love for the brethren was founded on the law of supply and demand, corrected by the poor-rate, and by philanthropy "increasing as the square of the distance"; while poverty, no longer a counsel of perfection, appeared, as in the days of Juvenal, to be ridiculous.

Such, by development and success in trading, did the Protestant Gospel become in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It contained a first and a second commandment, which, to borrow a happy phrase from Leigh Hunt, consisted in "worldliness and other-worldliness," the sum of them being, "Thou shalt save money here, and thine own particular soul hereafter." "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another," said the dying Christ. "I read not so," the commercial Christian nourished on Puritanism replied, "not so, but that ye overreach one another." Overreach in the making, in the

* Froude, vol. viii. p. 4.

selling, in the buying, in the advertising of goods; overreach in number, weight, and measure; overreach in colour and texture, substance and look; overreach, more than all, in the wages counted out to him that produces by him (the fortunate man) that is the owner, though not the maker, of the thing produced. All these marvels have come to pass, for the reason that it is not Christ who sits in the market-place to rule the exchanges, or in the manufactory to judge between master and man, but the "lawless one" set free at the Reformation to grind the faces of the poor, who, while he relegated the Eight Beatitudes within the covers of a book that no one heeded, or while he set up a dreary Sabbatarian covenant for one day in the week, was careful to take to himself the other six. Instead of the "*vinculum charitatis*" among Christians, was recognised only the cash-nexus. They were to be brethren and dearly-beloved in the circle of the pulpit; but in mart and workshop they became deadly enemies, whose exact and unalterable relation Mr. Darwin was at last enabled to formulate as a struggle for existence, in which the weakest went to the wall. As Mr. Herbert Spencer contemplates these "evidences of Protestantism," he cannot forbear remarking on the iniquity of an arrangement by which those who enjoy do not produce, and those who produce do not enjoy. But we shall be wise if we remember that the enjoyment is, to a large extent, as vain and futile as the production is wasteful and irrational. The ten thousand shops filled with objects which no sane man or woman can usefully employ, bear witness to the degrading toil of a vast multitude, and to the frivolity, bad taste, and criminal idleness of the classes to which they minister. Here is a law of reciprocity which only the blind cannot see. The West End creates the East; but East and West alike are in one condemnation. For it is the standard of life which determines, as I said, what things shall be made or not made—and the best things are as little known or considered in Belgravia as in Whitechapel.

Commerce and industry, then, have followed the Protestant flag with these results. But an army of captives, who get little good from either, have been compelled to march along in their train. Of these a large proportion are Catholics, unskilled in the arts which during times of persecution they were practically forbidden to exercise; till lately uneducated; and in the eyes of the criminal magistrate and the Poor Law guardians, very often uncivilised. They count among the "waste products" of the modern system. When Catholicism was trampled down in Northern countries by the advancing car of the Reformation, *they* fell under the wheels. *They*, in the flame and smoke begirt contest of the last three centuries, suffered more than any others the agony of defeat, were bereft of all things except their reli-

gion, and were condemned to ignorance, to the vices and despair of vanquished races, to fruitless toil, and to the scorn which insults what it has maimed and broken. The consequences, however, are singularly unlike what their conquerors anticipated, and prove once more, to the astonishment of an unbelieving century, that "surely there is a God that judgeth the earth." I will endeavour to make my meaning clear.

It was in 1648 that the Treaty of Westphalia was signed, which put an end to the disastrous Thirty Years' War. That treaty announced, in unmistakeable terms, that the progressive nations of Europe had revolted from the Catholic standard of civilisation and government. The peoples of the South had already entered upon a stage of decay; and although they did not reject the Papacy, nothing would be easier than to show that the spirit and the ideal which had created the Christendom of the ages of faith were no longer to be found in the Spain of Philip IV., or in the Italy which had become a geographical expression. Lower and lower the so-called Catholic nations sank during a hundred and fifty years. It was simply a question of time how long the institutions of the *ancien régime*, from which most of the meaning and all the vitality had departed, should cumber the ground. Not even the "doom's blast" of the French Revolution, though reverberated from a hundred battle-fields, could recall the life which had once been in them, but was now utterly and hopelessly extinct. The Holy Roman Empire was a phantom, and, ghostlike, retreated into the past when Napoleon challenged it to abide his tremendous strokes. With it fell the mediæval system. And I shall not be misunderstood when I say that those who beheld, as I did the white flag waving over St. Peter's on September 20, 1870, might mark the very hour at which Catholicism, for well nigh a thousand years conservative in the political order, and bound to the old state of things by innumerable ties, would cease to build on a past of which not one stone was left standing on another. From henceforth the Catholic policy must needs be, not conservative, but constructive. "*Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.*" That which had been accomplished in the Protestant North, the almost complete dissolution of a social hierarchy founded upon "status" in favour of a democracy tending more and more to found itself upon contract, was to be repeated on the shores of the Mediterranean, and even in the Eternal City. It was not the triumph of orthodox Protestantism, a vapoury creed without heart or substance. The strong secular aspirations which Protestantism had fostered will alone account for modern Italy. And so the old order had passed away, with its good and its evil. But the Church remained, though in a world so different.

The break up of a polity which even its friends would allow to have been Erastian, Febronian, or, in other words, anti-Papal—such as was the Legitimist *régime* from Louis XIV. onwards—was, in my opinion, necessary to the free growth of Catholicism. The age of democracy was sure to come. What would have been the position of the Holy See had it to consult at every step a Government like that of old Versailles, or the Aulic Council at Vienna; or to manage the susceptibilities of a high-born clergy, nobles before they were priests, to whom their privileges in the State were the first consideration? It may be truly and thankfully said that we have been spared these difficulties by the French Revolution. Whatever could be lost, except in remote countries like Hungary, has been taken from us—unjustly, no doubt, and yet, as the event is proving, to our ultimate advantage. “I do not intend,” said Count Cavour, “to disestablish the Church, for I have seen what an ultramontane clergy is in Ireland and Belgium.”* The main consequence of despoiling the sanctuary has been to unite priests and people as they never were united before. It is, as the Piedmontese statesman knew, the same story everywhere; for the principle always holds good, that a voluntary system means a popular and even a democratic clergy.

But more remains behind. It is in the highest degree remarkable that, as a direct outcome of the political overthrow of what some would call the Catholic, and I prefer to describe as the feudal system, the dividing line between North and South established at the Reformation has been hopelessly confused. Great multitudes of our people have been projected across it; and if the modern spirit is in Rome, the Catholic Church has taken deep root in England and in America. At the cost of great and often renewed calamities, Providence has decreed that, as in the Roman Empire so in the movement of Democracy, the Christian and Catholic name shall be spread in the centres of civilisation. Since 1848 a continuous stream of emigrants from Ireland, from Poland, and the Catholic Rhine, have poured into the United States. Five and thirty years ago Cardinal Newman, in a memorable sentence, declared that “the English language and the Irish race are overrunning the world.” But New York, which is the first of Irish cities, yields only to Berlin and Vienna in the number of its German population. The Argentine Republic has given shelter to a large Italian exodus. Chile, again, is prosperously governed by descendants of Irish emigrants. And Australia, as is not unlikely, will contain more than one Catholic state within its ample circuit. But amid the growth of churches, congregations, and hierarchies, the colonising of new

* “*Vie de Cavour*,” by M. de Mazade, pp. 93-97.

sites, and taking into culture of desert lands, the one point to which I would call the reader's most earnest attention is, that these millions, for whom Catholicism is the only true religion, are men and women whose capital is their labour, or what labour has brought them. Some few may be employers on a large scale; but the immense majority remain wage-earners, and have little or no stake in the land on which they dwell, or the cities into which they crowd as tenement lodgers. Political power they often have and exercise; but their social status leaves them at the bottom of the ladder. It is not surprising, indeed, that men who have been dispossessed and thrust out of the Old World should fail very often to make their way in the New. "He who would bring back the wealth of the Indies," it has been said, "must take out the wealth of the Indies." And our people have landed on the shores of Australia and America without leaders, without money, and without organisation. Where is the marvel if they became hewers of wood and drawers of water, mere Gibeonites serving the temple of national prosperity day and night, but fed on scraps and leavings? But these things did not happen without a reason. The Catholic Church of the last century was in a marked degree aristocratic; to-day, as in the Apostolic times, it is the Church of the poor. And to solve the economic problem is with the Catholic people of these countries a matter of life and death.

Now the system into which our disinherited millions have been thus unexpectedly thrown, dates from yesterday. We are apt to suppose that, great as are the political changes that have taken place since the American Declaration of Independence, the relations of "labour and capital," being fixed by the nature of things, remain exactly as they were. English economists like Ricardo and Fawcett have dealt with their subject in the main as though it were abstract and not historical, governed by the laws of the Medes and Persians, which cannot be altered. In many even of the late discussions regarding the rights of property, the ownership of land or of natural resources at large, peasant proprietorship, lease-holding, and the like, it has been too often the fashion to suppose that all these terms have a meaning which everybody understands, and which never has changed, nor will change. Whereas the whole method of capitalist production is new, and the conception of property is always changing with the institutions which govern it. "At the middle of the last century," as I read in the "*Fabian Essays on Socialism*," "Western Europe was still organised on a system of which the basis was virtually a surviving feudalism. The nexus between man and man was essentially a relation of superiority and inferiority. Social power still rested with the monarch, or with the owners of large landed estates. Some inroads had already been made in the perfect symmetry of

the organisation, notably by the growth of towns, and the rise of the still comparatively small trading class; but the bulk of the population was arranged in an hierarchical series of classes, linked to one another by the bond of Power.* But within a couple of generations, as the writer goes on to say, a great change, the most profound and far-reaching that had taken place for ten centuries, came to pass. Coal, steam, and machinery made an end of the feudal *régime* in economics, as the French Revolution had made an end of it in politics. "The squire faded away before the mill-owner." Peers developed into capitalists in picturesque attire; and Dukes or Earls kept their footing among the rulers of mankind only by the steady grasp they retained of certain commodities (Cleveland pig-iron to wit), or by still exercising the rights and receiving the dues of ground landlords, market-owners, toll-takers, dock-proprietors, or promoters of companies. In newly-settled countries, where Dukes and Earls were not, an aristocracy has grown up by accumulating the same sort of monopolist rights in the hands of ground-rent holders, like the Astors of New York, and of railway, ranche, and mining "kings." Class after class has been politically enfranchised on this side of the Atlantic; while, on the other, it is imagined that Republican institutions make all men equal and independent. But the economic enfranchisement lags behind. In all countries, bond or free, there is still a wide "margin of misery," composed of the unemployed, the pauper, and the criminal residuum, which, since it is not annihilated by starvation, must needs be a tax on the producers, who have to support themselves and the "margin" as well. But a fringe of unemployed, and a pretty wide one too, is requisite to keep down the wages of the workers, or to cut the ground from under strikes, so long as competition between the labourers themselves is allowed to determine what share of the product they shall receive. The houseless and propertyless millions whom French economists term the proletariat, have been produced by the industrial system which came in with machinery. In the sense of "freedom to appropriate the means of production, liberty," as Mr. Sidney Webb observes, "reached its maximum at the commencement of the century;" and, in spite of the Factory Acts, it still has "ample room and verge enough" to create the dark cities, fetid courts, and choking dens of misery which are the homes of the urban working class. Some eighteen months ago, I published the following words in the *New York Forum*; and since they represent in plain terms what I believe to be the true state of the case, I will set them down here, challenging comment or criticism at the hands of those who are better

* "Fabian Essays," ii. p. 55.

informed, or who can prove to me that I have overcharged the picture :

We have before us [I remark] an amazing spectacle. We see a great multitude ploughing the fields, raising the harvest, digging mines, smelting ores, building great factories and filling them with machinery, weaving and fashioning all manner of beautiful and useful things by means of the machinery they have made, running the railways, launching the ships, carrying the produce of their toil to the world's end, and bringing thence in exchange what other multitudes have in like manner created. And then, note the magic transformation. The banquet of civilisation is spread and the company sit down. Are they the toilers of sea and land whom we beheld so busy ? Do these eat the fruit of their hands ? By no manner of means. They have withdrawn out of sight to their dog-kennels, otherwise called hired tenements, and to their festering scraps, too often raked out of the refuse, in the strength of which they are free to live, to propagate, and to create fresh capital. "Homeless, landless, moneyless"—such is literally their condition. They are not even supposed to get a fair share of the commodities their hands and their brains have produced. The monopolist bids them compete, not with him, but with one another; and he stands by to accept, in the name of equity, the lowest tender. That is the true law of supply and demand. Supply, the number of those who must work for wages or starve; and demand, the least amount on which they can contrive, whilst working and breeding workers, not to starve till their average tale of life has been told. Here is an ethical system, indeed, that confiscates for the benefit of a few the land of whole continents; that monopolises the cotton industry, the iron industry, the coal industry; that snatches the corn he has grown from the hands of the Russian peasant on the Volga in order to send down prices in Mark Lane; that depopulates Italy, and is filling its hospitals with men and women suffering from *pellagra*—who are, in plainer words, hunger-bitten and famine-infected; that, in the paradise of "peasant-proprietors," France, has left eighteen millions without a foot of land to call their own; and that in the rich, democratic, and educated States of the American Union is repeating these marvels of the old world, laying its dead hand upon millions of acres, and raising up a proletariat not only on the shores of the Atlantic, but in Chicago, and at the Golden Gate. No wonder that Prince Bismarck, whose strong hand my friend was praising, has filched his programme from Lassalle and turned State Socialist. The *reductio ad absurdum* of Industrialism can go but one step further—to commercial ruin; and thither it is hastening.*

English readers are so accustomed to dull language, when there is question of the "dismal science," that I doubt not they will suspect this rhetoric as a little too vehement, and therefore not

* *The Forum*, June 1889, pp. 440-441.

likely to be founded on a careful examination of the facts which it brings together. I can only say that the evidence for every line there written is, in my opinion, overwhelming. But far better than taking my word it would be, if those who are anxious to understand in what kind of world we are living, and to whom the Gospel must now be preached, would study Blue Books and tables of statistics for themselves. The swing of the pendulum from the regulation of economics by law and government has been so violent that, in the language of Professor Huxley the "Administrative Nihilism," received as an axiom by philosophic Radicals, has been only partially checked by Lord Shaftesbury and his successors. Nor is it yet comprehensible to the brain nourished on Bentham and Pawcett how the "liberty of the working man to contract" (which includes that of his wife and children to compete against him) can be restricted by Parliament, without relegating Political Economy to Jupiter and Saturn. But the great mass of the wage-earners knew that they were not fighting against the nature of things in demanding that "free competition" should be subordinated to humane and moral considerations. As Cardinal Manning pointed out not long ago, in a most striking and suggestive letter to the International Congress at Liège, there are sacred contracts, of which marriage is one, that carry with them rights and obligations prior to any "contract of interest" in the marketplace.* Or to enunciate the general principle, economic science cannot cease to be a branch of ethics without violating the nature of man, who is not first a money-making and then a rational animal, but precisely the reverse. "Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice" remains as truly an axiom of right conduct in the production and distribution of material commodities, as it is allowed to be in every other department of life. To establish "freedom of contract" upon this foundation is the one great problem with which economists have now to deal from their point of view, and teachers of religion from theirs, which latter, though formally distinct from it, is not only not opposed to sound science, but must be kept steadily before the modern world if it would not make shipwreck of labour and capital together.

The late Mr. Carlyle was accustomed, like King David, to say many things in his haste. But he never uttered a more disastrous saying than when he bestowed on Political Economy that nickname of "the Dismal Science." Such truly it may have been in the minds which were then busy about it. Thomas Carlyle's feeling for the workers of the world, as opposed to the "exploiters" of their work, was keen and passionate. His faith in the prophet McCrowdy, *alias* McCulloch, was small. And he

* See the *Tablet*, Sept. 13, 1890.

believed that by violent denunciation and piled up metaphor, he could awaken Plugson the monopolist, Sir Jabez Windbag the politician, and their allies the game-preserving landowners, to a sense, if not of their duty, at least of their danger. Did he succeed? The answer, which may be studied in the condition of England to-day, is surely not in the affirmative. There is a little less sleep, a little less folding of the hands in slumber among the classes to which this shaggy Lowland seer prophesied. But the superstition lives on which made even Mr. Carlyle's fiery message but so much tinder, blazing into vivid flame, and then dying down into ashes. I mean that Political Economy is still treated, in nearly all the utterances which profess to guide our social and political actions, apart from the history of mankind, in a sort of mathematical fashion, and is so argued about in daily speech. But the question of supply and demand for the market has yet to be controlled and elucidated by considerations of how the market is itself formed, and what can be done to raise and humanise it. For the market, as we saw, is the commercial expression of a standard according to which men desire to live. And Political Economy is but, as logicians say, an instrumental science, a branch of that which seeks to realize material civilisation as it ought to be. An organised social life, or the perfect accomplishment of what Aristotle had in mind when he declared man to be a political animal, the member of a state in which everyone shall have his due place and work, must therefore be the governing idea of whatever economics are not merely of the marauding kind. Not the "struggle for existence," but evolution as the scope of all struggling; the realisation by united effort of that human ideal which is alone competent to guide us towards a sound theory of the production and distribution of wealth. The federation of capital which is daily growing before our eyes, may serve as a proof that one at least of the parties to this problem is beginning so to comprehend it. Employers of labour find it more profitable to combine than to carry on an internecine warfare among themselves. In like manner, the impetus given to Trades Unions, now gathering in the unskilled and holding out a hand to the very Antipodes, will demonstrate that the producers, no less than the captains of industry, perceive that competition is their bane. When the organisation on both sides is something like complete, will the "freedom of contract" thence resulting, at all resemble that which existed in the bad old days of unrestricted labour in the ranks, and unlimited profits among the drivers? There will be contract; but will not capitalist "trusts," and workmen's unions have brought in a new kind of "status"? At all events, "administrative Nihilism" will be a thing of the past. And then it will appear that Political Economy was not

a dismal science, but that the generalisations of its early professors were faulty and inadequate.

We may now estimate the nature and magnitude of the task which is laid upon the Church of to-day, in its public function of upholding the moral law and applying to material civilisation the principles of Christianity. If economics are to be governed simply by the "struggle for existence," it is superfluous to talk of the rights whether of labour or of capital. In that hurly-burly, the will of the stronger must prevail; nor can either side justly complain if it is vanquished by brute force. But with the admission of rights, which implies corresponding duties, there is room for the Christian teacher, not as an expert in details of which he may know very little, but as expounding principles and testing results by the truths of which he is a guardian. Nor is it a valid objection to his entrance on the scene that competition will have its way, and that the rate of wages cannot be regulated by sentiment; that, in the language of Karl Marx, there is an "iron law," which cannot be broken by master or man, and which determines the price of labour. Since that law, even if it were universal in its operation, is always formulated as "the lowest recompense on which workers will consent to work and propagate." Again, therefore, it is a question of the standard, and we escape from mere tables of statistics into the wide and impalpable ether of human thought, feeling, and desire. An English operative will not consent to labour on the food which satisfies a Hindoo, or a Polish refugee just landed at St. Katharine's Docks. Is not the real problem, then, to create in our labouring classes a right notion of what is indispensable to a Christian home, and in our leisured classes the sense of something better than luxury and self-indulgence as their ideal of life? I am not in any way called upon to disparage one section of society at the expense of another, nor to assert that virtue is the monopoly whether of rich or poor. But if there is a Christian type of existence, for men and women not bound by monastic vows, it is surely possible to judge by means of it the extravagant follies of wealth which owns no responsibilities, and the just demands of labour toiling, so often in vain, to secure food and shelter in exchange for life-long exertion.

Doubtless, the moment we put this judgment to the touch, there will be a great outcry. Or rather, to speak the truth, it has already begun. The canker of lawlessness—anarchy in the non-scientific sense of the word, which Englishmen persistently read into foreign treatises—has eaten into the hearts of multitudes, high and low. Laurence Gronland has said excellently well that we must substitute for the "independence" of individuals their "interdependence." And what a revolution would follow, were

it done in fact! But this is the very meaning of the name Catholic. Its nearest modern equivalent—sadly enough defaced and corrupted—is “Fraternity.” Were it admitted as a real and sovereign idea, we should see the standard of luxury to which men live up at one end of our great cities, and the standard of misery to which they sink down at the other, giving place to the simpler and healthier notion that has not yet died out among the less degraded sections of both classes. A truly Christian civilisation, of which there were such remarkable beginnings in mediæval communities, would not tolerate the aimless, do-nothing lives of so many rich people, who, as Mr. Carlyle said, are looking round in a purblind manner for the God they have lost, because, to start with, they have ceased to believe in and practise almost the whole of their duties to man. It would seem intolerable that any one, either prince or pauper, should have no task except to eat and drink at the cost of society. The old Greek and Italian city has still a lesson to teach us. But far more effective would be the teaching of the Catholic Church, if men cared to listen. Christianity is not Puritan, not iconoclast; it promises to redeem the body as well as the soul, the State which accepts Revelation as well as the individual who is to be everlastingly saved by it. And, although in the minds of various fanatics, science, art, literature, and commerce have appeared to be incompatible with the New Testament (which they have resolved into sheer mysticism), no one who has read the story of the Catholic Church can pretend that such is her doctrine. She does not, indeed, lay down a minute unchangeable code of rules whereby to cultivate any one of these human goods; but it is the Christian spirit which gives and renews life better than a thousand rules. Only we must not shrink from applying it to the facts of every day, or from manfully condemning whatever is opposed to it. Examples may be taken almost at random in any of the provinces I have mentioned, from the mendacious advertisements which fill our newspapers and add to the vulgarity of our railway-stations, to the coffin-ships which are outward bound under heavy insurance; or from the shoddy clothes, adulterated food, and drugged beer supplied to the working millions, all the way up to the poisonous novels and society journals, to the meretricious painting, acting, and music that contribute to the gratification of a world wherein money has taken the place of honour, and the doors of royal palaces are flung open before it.

“The mere conflict of private interests will never produce a well-ordered commonwealth of labour,” says Dr. J. K. Ingram. “We have been suffering for a century,” adds Professor Foxwell, “from an acute outbreak of Individualism, unchecked by the old restraints, and invested with almost a religious sanction.” “No

one," concludes even the cautious and conservative Mr. R. Giffen, in words which have raised unceasing echoes, "can contemplate the present condition of the masses of the people without desiring something like a revolution for the better." And certainly if, as is stated, the present Individualist methods of holding capital, purchasing labour, and distributing the results, have ended in failing to create "a decent social life for four-fifths of the people," it must be evident to the most formal capacity that it will not long endure, provided that the majority are made conscious of their power to alter it. Even now, "the steady increase of the Government regulation of private enterprise, the growth of municipal administration, and the rapid shifting of the burden of taxation directly to rent and interest, mark in treble lines the statesman's unconscious abandonment of the old Individualism."* Yes, and they point the way to a condition of society much more resembling that which the Catholic Church upheld and fostered in her palmiest days, than any we have seen since the Reformation. It is the incongruous mixture of a "socialised form of production" with the "individual form of exchange," that divides an ostensibly free and united Kingdom into Lord Beaconsfield's "two nations"—the "classes and the masses"—of which one enjoys much more than is good for it, while the other has all but lost the very sense of enjoyment, and is condemned to a sad monotony of fruitless toil. Honest work and healthy leisure have thus become to an incredible extent impossible in modern society. But when it is perceived that the root of all evil is covetousness, digested into a pseudo-science, and bent merely on gratifying itself, whether by work or enjoyment, without regard to the organism of which all are members, surely the axe will be laid to the system and the tree will fall. Not, as many foolishly dread, the tree of productive industry, whose fruits are now spoiled and wasted in the gathering, but the tree of luxury, in the shade of which only venomous fungi spring up and flourish. "The existence of the lower classes," observes a German professor of economic science, is "without joy and without justice." A pregnant sentence! And suppose the message of the Old Testament were justice, as that of the New Testament is joy; and furthermore, that the science itself of wealth were undergoing a transformation in the divine light which falls out of these windows in heaven upon its pages, can we believe that the Catholic priest or layman has no part assigned to him in bringing about the change by that Providence which is manifestly directing it all?

It may be objected, with no little surprise and indignation, that Catholics have long since been attending on this very thing, and

* "Fabian Essays," p. 60.

that it is rather late in the day to preach lessons of fraternity to them. But, in the first place, I wish to disclaim all thought of preaching. My purpose is to exchange ideas with those who take an interest, as so many of us now do, in the corporate action of the Creed we have inherited upon the society we live in. And, in the next, whilst I recognise a sort of "indirect adaptation" of our methods and resources to the conditions of the time, it seems to me highly desirable that we should cast off the shreds and tatters of legal disabilities still hanging about us, and instead of looking on ourselves as mere "resident aliens" in the nineteenth century, should contribute a direct and deliberate share to the establishment of a social ethics in harmony with our beliefs. Let us begin at the beginning. How ought men to live in this England of ours, and in the Greater Britain across the sea, if Christ were acknowledged as their king? It is a question that must needs be asked, and that incessantly demands an answer, unless we hold that the present order of things is utterly beyond the care of the Heavenly Father, and that He means His reign to begin when the world has been burnt with fire on the Day of Judgment, but not a moment sooner.

I cannot but imagine that some thought of this kind is deeply seated in the hearts of many Christians—social Quietists, as I may term them—to whose apprehension the Gospel is for individuals, not for states and peoples, and who apply to the baptized millions rules or sayings that held good in the days when believers were but "a little flock," without public consequence or any power of influencing legislation. Such rules still apply when the circumstances are the same. But how if they have ceased to be the same? Catholics find themselves on an equality with their fellow-citizens, free to take their seats in Parliament, in the County Council, and on Boards of Education. They must either legislate in union with men of various creeds and parties, for the common good, or stand aside and see the power which they decline to exercise passing into more vigorous hands. It is reassuring to observe that hitherto they have not dreamt of shirking their responsibility. If, however, they must vote and govern, there is implied in any successful and generally beneficent action they may resolve upon, nothing less than a public code of ethics, which will take into its purview the whole extent of social phenomena and their laws. An exceedingly great enterprise, as I need not remark. And how is it to be attempted if, in our lay education, the true account of the genesis and distribution of property and wealth is nowhere given; if our conception of society, far from having caught up even with the eighteenth century, lingers about the worn-out ideals of Toryism, Whiggism, Legitimism, and such like disembodied spectres? It

has been appositely laid down by Marx and Engels that "in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis on which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." Not, indeed, that other forces besides the economic condition do not exert their sway; but that here is the *basis* upon which all changes whatsoever go forward. Well, in which of our great schools has history been taught from this point of view? We all remember Mr. Carlyle's famous definition of the modern state, "Anarchy plus the policeman." In what degree have we so much as thought of contrasting it, for the purpose of training our young men to effective action, with Catholic social ideas applicable to the times we live in? The social organism, so far as I remember, had not even a name in English education when I was at school, although some of us read about it in Aristotle, and perhaps wondered that cities like Athens and Sparta were no longer to be found. The cause of the omission lay near at hand. For two centuries and more, Catholics in these countries had been what I have called them, "resident aliens." Since 1789 their brethren had succumbed to a not unlike fate on the Continent. Statesmen no longer heeded the voice of the Church's rulers; and the Catholic working population not accustomed to exercise or appreciate the power which enfranchisement had put into their hands, went on enduring what they fancied it was impossible for them to amend, acquiesced in a policy of "abstention," and lay at the mercy of a few energetic individuals, who seized the reins of power, which the "well-disposed" would not grasp. It is a melancholy story, but the lesson it conveys should not be lost upon men who have no intention of sinking into the passive helplessness which, during long years, has been the chief characteristic of Catholic France and Italy. The English-speaking races are neither effete nor indolent; they do not suffer, as M. Weiss lately declared that France is suffering, from "cerebral anæmia;" and they have enjoyed a political training which has taught them the value of compromise in matters where it is constantly the one solution. Their experience in the machinery of economic production is unrivalled. And the very height of Individualism to which they have ascended is some guarantee, that they will take less hurt than nations which have been enfeebled by centralisation, in passing from "administrative Nihilism" to the organised distribution of products which is slowly emerging from our present disorders.

I have employed the word "Individualism," because it denotes a manifest evil from which all are suffering, and has a plain and palpable sense, namely, the method of producing or consum-

ing without regard to the common welfare. But I have not spoken of "Socialism" as likely to supersede it; for one thing, because to define Socialism is far from easy, and, at this stage, not of any pressing importance. And for another, because I agree with Mr. Olivier, that "the opposition commonly assumed in contrasting the two," that is to say, the ideal Individualism—not the base species just described—and ideal Socialism, "is an accident of the now habitual confusion between personality and personalty, between a man's life and the abundance of the things that he has."* It would be absurd to argue that the individual, as such, stands opposed to the organism in and by which alone he exists; or that measures can benefit society without doing good to those who make it up. Sufficient for my purpose it is to remark with the late Professor Cairns, "on moral no less than on economic grounds," as he declared, "that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class;" that "the wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry;" but that "what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their own unprofitable lives."† Again, whenever, and in so far as, it is scientifically demonstrated that the capitalist, ceasing to be a real "captain of industry," and managing nothing except to maintain himself as one of the idle rich, does not return an equivalent to the industry which supports him, but has become useless and obstructive, I think his days in the land are numbered. Whatever society can do without him, it will do without him. And the "ring" and the "trust," which seem to be the very triumph of "capitalism," will but have shown the way to absorbing it in the higher synthesis which we call the State. That is by no means the same thing as affirming that skilled labour is worth no more to the community than unskilled; or that we are entering upon an era of barbarous Communism. It merely asserts that "if a man will not work, neither let him eat." Every one is bound to return the value of what he receives to those by whose labour he benefits. And again, if the rate of production and the scale of prices are to be fixed, as the combinations of capitalists do fix them in America, and have begun to fix them in England, it is better that this should be done by public authority, for the good of the whole State, and not merely that individuals may wallow in riches and in self-indulgence while inflicting distress upon thousands. I am quite content to go as far as these arguments will carry me, before attempting to sketch

* "Fabian Essays," p. 105.

† "Some Leading Principles of Political Economy," p. 32.

the rest of the journey. And I am warranted in going thus far by the principles which have been laid down in the Catholic school of ethics, and which by their very nature never can become obsolete. I would, in fact, undertake to find a valid justification for what has been advanced in this paragraph, under the title of Usury in the Canon Law.

But now to look at the matter from another point in this never-ending circle of unrighteousness.

For more than a century (says Mr. Graham Wallas) the proletarians of Europe have been challenged by their masters to do as little work as they can. They have been taught by the practical economists of the Trades Unions, and have learnt for themselves by bitter experience, that every time anyone of them in a moment of ambition or good will does one stroke of work which is not in his bond, he is increasing the future unpaid labour of himself and his fellows.

I may pause to remark on the side light this sentence throws upon the laziness attributed to the Irish peasant, well taught by *his* experience also that if he improves his farm he thereby increases his rent. But to continue my quotation :

At the same time (adds Mr. Wallas), every circumstance of monotony, ugliness, and anxiety has made the work as wearisome and disgusting as possible. All, almost without exception, now look upon the working day as a period of slavery, and find such happiness as they can get only in the few hours or minutes that intervene between work and sleep.*

We have here gone down to the solid rock, and need not ask why so many who are compelled to be dishonest in every work of their hands, or to pay for honesty with increase of toil, should spend what leisure they may have in drunkenness and rioting, and have forgotten, if they ever knew, the meaning of religion. Bad work ruins body and soul alike. A nation that has entered upon this path, if it will not repent and honestly do the things which by contract and law it has bound itself to do, can but go down to the nether deeps. Its trade will be its damnation. There was a time when English goods fetched the highest price in the market, because they were to be depended upon. That time is swiftly passing away. And mark, it is not, as the advocates of *laissez-faire* tell us, that the demand has slackened, and the supply of sound commodities fallen off in consequence. The demand continues ; but as, in the language of Mr. John Bright's noble principle, "adulteration is a form of competition," so it has been acted upon here to cheapen the cost of production, and the sin of the Lancashire millowner, who stiffens his cottons and

* "Fabian Essays," p. 145.

calicoes with glazing to mask their rottenness, has begun to find him out. Nevertheless, the "consumer," especially if he belongs to the labouring class, will in a majority of instances have no choice but to purchase what he knows to be unsound if not unsightly. From first to last it would seem as though the capitalist method of production rested upon injustice, and brought forth lies. And it is, as it ought to be, "the disappearance at the base and at the summit of society of the conditions of social morality" that "rouses those whose mere material interests remain unaffected," to conceive of a better order of things, in which producer and consumer shall have their due equally, and from which the monopolist who stands between them, taxing both, and forcing the one to make and the other to buy his cheating wares, shall be eliminated.

Meanwhile, can there be any more cheering token for Catholics than the repeated and hearty confession on the lips of men like Mr. William Morris, Mr. Hyndman, and the Fabian Essayists, who do but echo what M. Littré and Auguste Comte asserted in their time, that the Church from which Northern Europe broke away three hundred and seventy years ago, has, to quote Mr. Olivier once again, "done more for social morality than any religion in the world"; and that to it was owing "the widest and freest system of education established before the present day"? True, indeed, that it is described in one sentence as a "socialistic institution." But a few lines lower down it appears as substituting for the hideous superstition of what has since been termed Calvinism, "faith in the perfectibility of each individual soul."* We are not to look for the precision of theological language in these to whom the Catholic creed is obviously unfamiliar. Yet we shall find our account in listening to their report, strongly confirming, as it does, the testimony which Mr. Carlyle gave in the sight of his own generation when he published his "Past and Present." According to the same unsuspected witnesses, it was "Protestant Individualism" that "in England shattered the Catholic Church, founded the modern land system upon its confiscated estates," and "destroyed the mediæval machinery of charity and education." Truly the whirligig of time brings round its revenge, when history is written in this remarkable manner. Even Mr. Froude, in dealing with the system under which mediæval England was governed, cannot but allow that it was "an attempt, more or less successful," to "bring the production and distribution of wealth under the moral rule of right and wrong;" and that it introduced a state of things "where those laws of supply and demand which we are now taught to regard as immutable

* "Fabian Essays," pp. 124-125.

ordinances of nature, were absorbed or superseded by a higher code.* Since the writing of that chapter, now more than thirty years ago, men have examined these so-called "immutable ordinances" in the light of a better informed political economy. The restrictions put upon free competition in the shape of mere sanitary Acts would fill a large volume, and every session of Parliament adds to their number.† But, over and above the conscious modifications of the former system thus introduced, it has been made abundantly evident that all "individuals who are dependent on their exertions of body or mind for a living, are becoming more and more parts of an industrial social machine," as the "Journal of the Knights of Labour" not long since observed. Now, to conduct a machine on the principle that all its parts are in permanent antagonism, is probably the most explosive method of controlling it yet invented, and pretty sure to land the conductor as well as the machine in chaos. It is to "more perfect social adjustments," corresponding in simplicity as in efficacy to the mechanical powers which have created the present era, that we must look for the deliverance of one class from a degrading serfdom, and of the other from self-centred enjoyment. The society which does not by reasonable methods control the machinery will become its slave, bound hand and foot to the small number who manipulate and guide it. But a higher degree of social perfection means a higher morality, and from what source can it be derived except the living mind of Christ, incarnate in the Catholic Church?

The process of change, though beginning in the thoughts of men as all great changes have done, will show itself outwardly, not at first by restoring the religion of old time to its sovereign place, but by a long-continued strenuous endeavour to lift up the fallen multitude till they live a true human life again. And a necessary condition will be to improve their daily surroundings, to regulate the hours of toil, to take measures for preventing the growth of that unhappy residuum which is the despair of priests and magistrates, to make education a real training of rich and poor for the world wherein both find themselves "increasingly dependent on conditions and circumstances," and to break down the wall of division which Protestantism, developed into "capitalism," has set up between them. Whether we look at the problem of the school or the workshop, at "the selfish isolation of the English family," the holiday amusements of the many, or the make-believe occupations of the few, we shall perceive that there

* "History," vol. i. pp. 89-90.

† See Mr. Spencer's "The Man and the State," *passim*, and "Fabian Essays," pp. 50-54.

is no lack of material for Catholic thinkers and reformers, if they will have the courage, not of their opinions, but of their Creed. There is neither man nor woman among us that cannot do something towards hastening the better time, were it only by endeavouring to lead a more rational existence than custom, inherited from those whom Mr. Matthew Arnold has justly satirised as "Barbarians" and "Philistine," now prescribes to them. This may be called, according as we view the aim or the method, either Christianising or civilising the present generation; and assuredly I shall not stickle for a word. It is, however, as I contend, the duty of believers to inform with a moral and Christian spirit, the civilisation which has indeed subdued matter, but which is itself unwilling to be subdued *in obsequium fidei*, to the service of the Unseen and the Eternal. *Respice finem*, we may say to the founders and the inhabitants of our multitudinous yet mean cities: "What is the purpose of the incessant movement filling your streets and thundering over your iron roads, choking the warehouses with goods, and driving round and round the countless wheels of your industry?" If it is not moral, but only material, it must fall under the Gospel anathema, *Vae vobis divitibus!* But, on the other hand, there are thousands upon thousands of baptised Catholics to whom Christianity has not meant civilisation and who simply do not see the bearing of the Catechism or the Commandments on their place in the commonweal. From these, I have said, the "residuum" gains its recruits. They are the third or fourth generation of an emigrant people who brought only their religion with them, but who were otherwise singularly unfitted for the anarchical existence forced upon them in modern New York or London. A religious census would set them down perforce as Catholics, because they are nothing else. But as time goes on they will cease to be anything whatever except the breeding-ground of lawless poverty and crime, of violence and disorder. An education which turns them adrift on the world at fourteen, without training their hands or their hearts, assigning them no place among their fellows but that of the casual "hob-jobber," runner of errands, or loafer about the streets, is confessedly not Christian, but will any one dream that it is civilising? Such are the inner barbarians whom the prevailing absurd belief in "the moralising effects of intellectual culture" as taught in elementary schools, have fostered and will continue to multiply, unless the conditions of life outside the school-house be radically transformed.

How is this to be done? Many excellent people will tell me, by the direct and reiterated preaching of the great Christian truths. And they will be so far justified, as I have previously

insisted at some length, inasmuch as no moral revolution can take place for the better which is not instinct with the spirit of the New Testament. But to offer the New Testament, nay, to hold up the crucifix to those whom I consider to be little else than savages in their way of life, would be, or rather has been, for the most part, ineffective and unprofitable. "They do not want to be civilised," it has been lately remarked. Of course they do not. What conception can they form of a state in which they have never existed? One of two things, however, will surely come to pass. Either these degraded classes will be civilised in spite of themselves, by a series of great public measures, carried out energetically and with steady perseverance, or they will add to the instability of the present system, and hasten its overthrow. That, in the second alternative, they will be lost to religion is self-evident, unless we should look upon them as already lost. Immense numbers, indeed, are too far gone on the downward road to be now, except by miracle, recalled from destruction. They are in the condition of races on the fringe of civilisation, unable to fulfil its requirements, and, like the native Australians or red Indians, are doomed to disappear. But others, if the general system of labour and wages were established on a rational basis, would be capable of sharing in its advantages. And the process applied in lifting them to a human level deserves the name of civilisation, even though, as we hope and trust, it will not stop until, besides binding man with man in "wealthy rest," it reconciles by the grace of Christianity His children to their Heavenly Father. As I have written elsewhere, economic justice is not the summit, but it is the foundation of a well-ordered society. If we desire a strong argument upon which to labour for it, let us consider what economic *injustice*, under its various shapes of land-confiscation, rack-rents, forced emigration, free competition, tenement-holdings, and regulation of wages by Dutch auction of the lowest bidder, has made of the Poles, the Jews, the Irish, the Italians, and the Germans who have fallen beneath its weight. Will a single one of these defeated races, when it has been compelled to surrender its fair share of the product of labour, continue to practise its religion, as a living ethical code, in the dingy quarters where it slaves in captivity? Human nature has in it wonderful possibilities of good; but surely the tender mercies of those who would expose it to such a temptation are cruel.

"If a great change is to be made," exclaimed Edmund Burke, in the rush and whirlwind of the French Revolution, "the minds of men will be fitted to it, the general opinions and feelings will draw that way. Every fear, every hope, will forward it; and then they who persist in opposing this mighty current, will

appear rather to resist the decrees of Providence itself than the mere designs of men. They will not be resolute and firm, but perverse and obstinate.* The age of Democracy which has followed even in Tory England, has proved him a true, albeit a reluctant prophet. And now, not in England alone, but everywhere in the civilised world, the economic revolution has begun which was its inevitable consequence. And "the minds of men are fitted to it." Under the most contradictory names, as Socialism, Anarchy, Co-operation, the Single Tax, Nationalisation of Land, State Regulation of Labour, and I know not how many more, the new system is emerging from the ruins of the old. Feudalism has had its day; free competition is expiring under the blows of "rings and trusts," of trades unions, and of the sweating system, which makes it a horror as well as an absurdity. The Eight Hours Bill means, in its issue, organisation where chaos reigned supreme. And it is to such an era, convinced, in this marvellous fashion, that men are not jarring atoms but every one destined to fulfil his office in society, that the Catholic Church must now deliver her message. "*L'État c'est moi*," said Louis XIV. The workers of the world answer, "*L'État c'est nous*." But when they have discovered that industry must be organised, cannot the Church lead them on to acknowledge that religion, which they will now have leisure to understand and practice, must be organised too? The Christian organism, binding the ages together, and luminously proved by History in its turn, is that which has its centre at Rome and its circumference everywhere. When the tyrannous and anarchic right of unlimited private capital has gone its way, will the no less anarchic "right of private judgment" survive it? The Catholic idea of Fraternity is born into the world again. Surely we have but to claim our own, and the ages of Faith may begin under happier auspices, on a planet which science has subdued to man's dominion, while religion has thrown a light upon its origin and destiny. Such things would a believer in all the revelations of Providence augur for the Catholic Church, when the reign of base Individualism has come to an end. *Faxit Deus!*

WILLIAM BARRY.

* "Thoughts on French Affairs," Works, vol. iii. p. 933.

ART. III.—A ROYAL ELOPEMENT.

THAT royal marriages have been too frequently affairs of State, agreed to because of certain mutual advantages, will be generally conceded, yet some royal marriages, including that of King Cophetua, have not been wanting in romance. Never, indeed, was fairy tale fuller of interest and excitement than the narrative of the courtship, elopement, and espousals of Marie Casimire Clémentine Sobieski, grandchild of the famous Pole who, in 1683, saved Vienna from the Turks, and whose grateful contemporaries declared him to be "a man sent from God, whose name was John." None of the elements are wanting—a captive princess of rare beauty, a gallant suitor, a cruel king, faithful friends to aid the lovers, spies to watch them, hairbreadth escapes! What more can be desired? The tale is told by one of the principal actors, in two quaint volumes. The first, in English, was published only three years after the events it records, and bears this ponderous title:

FEMALE FORTITUDE
exemplify'd in an important
NARRATIVE
of the
SEIZURE, ESCAPE, AND MARRIAGE
of the Princess

CLEMENTINE SOBIESKY,

As it was particularly set down by Mr. Charles Wogan
(formerly one of the Preston Prisoners) who was
a chief manager in the whole affair.

Now published for the entertainment of the curious.

Quo ducent fata sequamur.—Virg. *Æn.*

London :

Printed in the year 1722.

It will be observed that the name of the publisher is not given; the undertaking involved too much risk for his identity to be revealed. The second edition, written in French, and containing many amusing details omitted in the first, appeared several years later, when the son of the marriage brought about by the writer had grown to manhood. It was, doubtless, intended to interest the public in the Young Chevalier, the child of romance, and to prepare men's minds for his subsequent descent on the Scottish coast to pursue the claims of his father. The

little book, was, however, dedicated to Marie Leczinska, queen of Louis XV., and was ostensibly intended for her information, as she had inquired about the escape from Innsbruck. All copies, but one retained by the author, were presented to her. Many of the details given in the present account of the Old Chevalier's romantic marriage are drawn from the French edition, of which not a copy is to be found in the British Museum.*

The heroine of both narratives, the Princess Clémentine, was born July 17, 1702, at Ohlau, in Silesia, where her father, Prince James Louis Sobieski, an unsuccessful candidate for the crown of Poland, lived at the time, and kept up royal state on a comparatively limited income. Her mother, Edwige Elizabeth Amelia, of Neuburg, was aunt to the Emperor Charles VI. of Austria, and the Sobieskis were likewise connected with the reigning houses of Spain and Bavaria. Clémentine, their third daughter, grew up lovely, sweet-natured and accomplished, and when she was sixteen years of age was sought in marriage by the unfortunate son of James II.—“the Old Chevalier.” This alliance was first proposed to the Chevalier by Charles (afterwards Sir Charles) Wogan, a poet, a courtier, and a gentleman, in later years the friend and correspondent of Swift, and the subject of complimentary verses from the Duke of Wharton. Wogan was descended from an ancient family in Kildare, and devoted to the cause of the Stuarts. He had given proofs of his fidelity during the disastrous expedition of 1715, had shared his royal master's wanderings, and, on the defeat of his hopes, had entered the French service. When the question of an alliance was raised, Wogan visited Ohlau, apparently for pleasure, but really to observe the characters and dispositions of the Polish princesses. The eldest, Casimire, had been brought up in Rome by her grandmother, the Queen Dowager of Poland; he reported her to be somewhat stiff and formal, and the slave of etiquette. Charlotte, the second girl (afterwards Duchesse de Bouillon), he considered wanting in dignity. For little Clémentine he had nothing but praise, and, acting on his advice, the Chevalier proposed for her. The Prince and Princess Sobieski looked favourably on this chance of establishing their daughter in life. The latter hoped that her imperial nephew would, for her sake, espouse the quarrel of her son-in-law elect, the Jacobites had a strong party in the British islands, George I. was un-English and unpopular, and there was every reason to expect that a counter revolution might before many years place the young couple on the throne. All was progressing favourably, though the affair was kept a profound secret, when it was suddenly represented to the Chevalier that,

* The writer is indebted to Mrs. Atkinson, the gifted authoress of “The Life of Mary Aikenhead,” for the loan of a transcript of this version made by herself from the original.

situated as he was, it was impolitic to entrust an affair of such importance to one who was an Irish Catholic, and that this course of action was likely to prejudice public opinion against him in his native country. Wogan was accordingly recalled, the matter was taken out of his hands, and placed in those of the Hon. James Murray, and his brother-in-law, the Hon. John Hay. Within a short time information as to it reached the English Court. The wonder is that it was not known before, when we learn that Charles Boyle, fourth Earl of Orrery, private secretary to the Chevalier, was in the pay of Sir Robert Walpole, and received from him the handsome stipend of £2000 a year for his services. George I. was enraged at the prospect of an alliance which would connect the Stuarts with so many reigning families. Pressure was brought to bear upon the Austrian Emperor. The King threatened to break the Quadruple Alliance, and send forces by land and sea to enable the King of Spain to seize on Sicily and Italy, while the Princess Clémentine was told that the sum of £100,000 would be added to her dowry if she consented to wed the Prince of Baden. In the meantime Mr. Hay had set out to fetch the bride, and, under the care of her mother, the Princess had already travelled a considerable distance through her cousin's dominions, on her way to meet her *fiancé* at Bologna, when the English Ambassador at Vienna became so urgent, and uttered so many thinly veiled menaces, that Charles, after wavering for a time, submitted, and gave orders for the arrest of his aunt and her daughter. The Empress mother was indignant at this weakness, and, possibly with her son's connivance, contrived to delay the execution of the order. The courier was detained three days on the road, and put up at an inn, pretending to have been injured by a fall from his horse, so that if despatch had been used, the Sobieskis might have left Innsbruck before he arrived. This plan was frustrated by Hay's negligence, and by the carelessness of the Princess Sobieski, who could not forego the pleasure of passing some time with her brother, the Bishop of Augsburg, and actually spent a week in the episcopal city having her jewels reset. It was no use trying to aid such people. Though the courier was six days on the road instead of three, he arrived at Innsbruck the day before the Princess Sobieski and her daughter, who were immediately arrested and lodged in the Castle, under the guardianship of General Heister. Hay was set at liberty, and arrived in a sorry plight at Bologna to tell of his failure. The matter had been rendered much more difficult by this misadventure, and the Prince, who now regretted his action, had no choice but to apologise to Wogan, and beg of him to attempt the rescue of his betrothed.

That faithful friend consented, and all appeals, all representa-

tions to the timorous Emperor having failed, it was agreed that their only chance was to persuade Princess Clémentine and her parents to consent to an elopement. Wogan asked his royal master for a letter to show Prince Sobieski, inducing him to urge his daughter to have full confidence in the envoy, and was armed by the Chevalier with authority to do whatever he judged best to attain the desired end. On his way through Bologna, he had an interview with the Cardinal Legate Orego, who, alone with the Pope and the principals, knew the secret.

He arrived safely at Innsbruck, saw the Princess Sobieski, showed her his credentials, delivered letters from his royal master and obtained her conditional assent to the plan he proposed. She insisted, however, before putting it into execution, that her husband should be consulted, and send some token of his approval. M. Châteaudeau, her gentleman usher, promised Wogan to keep him informed as to events at Innsbruck, and was directed to address his letters in care of a banker at Strasburg.

Our adventurer next journeyed to Ohlau to find Prince Sobieski; but here a new difficulty presented itself. So persuaded was the latter that his daughter's escape was impossible, that for a long time he refused to put pen to paper. He was angry with the Emperor, but unwilling to move farther in the matter, declaring the enterprise to be Quixotic, impossible of execution, and, to quote Wogan, "talked much good sense." True, Wogan was sumptuously lodged and treated with every consideration, so much so that rumours and speculations as to his business excited the curiosity of the courtiers, but he made no progress. New Year's Day came, and Prince Sobieski's treasurer presented the envoy, as a mark of his master's good will, with a magnificent snuff-box, formed of a single turquoise set in gold, found amongst other jewels in the famous scarlet pavilion of Kara Mustapha, the Grand Vizier, at his defeat by John Sobieski. Wogan refused the splendid gift, and when Prince Sobieski pressed him for the reason, he replied that he was deeply grateful for the honour shown him, but protested that "devoted as he was to his Highness, he could not think of returning to Italy with a refusal for his master and a present for himself." Touched by this reply, Prince Sobieski at last consented to give the requisite instructions to his wife and daughter, invited Wogan to a *tête-à-tête* dinner, and bestowed the snuff-box on him as they walked up and down together afterwards. All the facilities that he desired were granted, and it was settled that the Starost and the Staroscina Clebouski were to join him at Vienna, and assist him to establish secret communications with the imprisoned Princess.

We have already alluded to the curiosity as to Wogan and his mission which prevailed at the Polish Court. He kept his secret

well, and by wit and prudence succeeded for long in baffling all inquiries without exciting mistrust, but Prince Sobieski was not as prudent. In a burst of confidence he revealed how matters stood to a certain German baron—and it was with much difficulty and considerable expenditure that Wogan succeeded in gaining over that gentleman to his side. Startled by the result of his communicativeness, Prince Sobieski held his peace thenceforth; but the danger was not over—woman's guile was now to be employed against the Irishman's mission. Amongst the noted beauties at Ohlau was the Countess de Berg, a handsome intriguing woman, and a spy in the Austrian service. The honour shown to Wogan puzzled her; who or what he was she could not divine, and moreover no one could give her the information she desired, so she and her agents watched the stranger night and day, only to be outwitted by a vigilance still keener than their suspicions; yet, without proofs of any danger to Austria threatened by him, the wily Countess, while expressing her regret at Wogan's announcement of his speedy departure, sent secretly a message to her brother, the Governor of Breslau, to have the stranger arrested at Prague, whither he ostentatiously announced his intention of going. He set out in February in a splendid coach, belonging to Prince Sobieski, drawn by six Polish horses, and all went smoothly till they reached Strahlen (Strakonitz?), where he pretended to fall ill, and remained for twenty-four hours confined at an inn there. When he found it convenient to recover, he made a sudden detour to the left, and then posted to Vienna without venturing near Prague, arriving safely in two or three days with the satisfaction of having completely outwitted the Austrian spy. At Vienna he called on the Papal Nuncio, Monsignor George Spinola, and endeavoured to enlist his good offices with the Emperor in favour of releasing Princess Clémentine, but he "soon found that the English had more power at Court than the Pope." Meanwhile the Starosta Clebouski and his wife, who were to have followed him immediately, had not arrived, and what was his consternation on receiving a despatch from Prince Sobieski saying that, frightened at the dangers to be encountered, the pair had withdrawn from their solemn engagement. Prince Sobieski himself, depressed by failure and desertion, cancelled all the extraordinary powers conferred on Wogan.

Baffled but not defeated, the indomitable envoy set about forming a new plan, and made up his mind to seek for fresh credentials from Prince Sobieski that would empower him to choose such persons as he should consider proper to aid him; but being afraid, after his narrow escape from the fascinating Countess and her brother, to return himself to Ohlau, he resolved to write to the Chevalier, telling his story, and begging him to send him some trustworthy

person who could be sent to Silesia. He remained at Augsburg in disguise until the arrival of the Chevalier's confidential valet, Michael Vezzosi, a Florentine of proved fidelity. This man was at once despatched to Ohlau, with instructions to remind the Prince that though failure might cost the lives of Wogan and his friends, it could only mean a somewhat longer imprisonment for the captive princess. Having arranged with Vezzosi where they were to meet, and speeded him on his journey, the indefatigable Wogan now set out himself for Strasburg, where he found a letter from Châteaudeau awaited him. From this communication, he learned that the Chevalier had left Rome, and, as it was rumoured his object was to carry off his *fiancée*, guards had been doubled at the Castle of Innsbruck. Next day came a second and more alarming epistle. The Chevalier had been seized at Voghera by the Imperial troops, and conducted to the Castle of Milan! Still another day passed, and a letter was delivered from Mr. Murray, a Scotch gentleman in the service of the Chevalier at Rome, which set all fears at rest. James had indeed gone, but to Spain, on the pressing invitation of King Philip V., and the better to conceal his real movements, let it be understood he was going to meet the Princess, who had found means to escape from her captors. Mr. Murray added that the Earls of Mar and Perth had been stopped by the Emperor's soldiers between Voghera and Milan, which probably gave rise to the rumour of the Chevalier's imprisonment. Before his departure, that prince had left commands for Wogan to follow up the enterprise, and had provided the Sieur Conalsky with a procuration, or licence, enabling him to espouse the Princess Clémentine as proxy for her lover, if the project succeeded.

So far all had gone well, Wogan therefore busied himself in making his final preparations. He ordered a roomy travelling carriage to be made with springs of unusual strength, double traces, ropes, and extra tackle of all sorts for use in case of accident. This was to be drawn by six horses and accompanied by three armed outriders. Help, of course, was necessary in such a dangerous enterprise, and Wogan chose as his associates three countrymen of his own—namely, Major Richard Gaydon of Irishtown, Captain Luke Toole, or O'Toole of Victoria, and Captain John Misset of Kildare, all officers in the regiment of Wogan's near relative, General Count Arthur Dillon, then stationed at Schelestat, not far from Strasburg. These, with Wogan himself and Michael Vezzosi, who had been instrumental in contriving the escape of Lord Nithsdale from the Tower, were to comprise the men of the party. That the Princess Clémentine might not lack the society of one of her

own sex, the wife of Captain Misset, a young gentlewoman of Irish extraction, but educated in France, pretty, warm-hearted, and winning, was asked to share in the expedition. She was by nature timid, and, moreover, about to become a mother, so that caution was used in broaching the subject to her, but as soon as she knew of it, she said with spirit that she would "gladly venture all for the sake of the husband she loved and of her rightful sovereign." When in Rome, Wogan had taken the precaution of obtaining from Count Galass, the Austrian Ambassador, a passport made out in the name of Count de Cernes, supposed to be a Flemish gentleman journeying with his family to the Shrine of Loretto in fulfilment of a vow. Major Gaydon and Madame Misset were to represent the Count and Countess de Cernes, Wogan that lady's brother, O'Toole, Misset, and Vezzosi were to act as armed attendants. Madame Misset's maid, Jenny, was to accompany the party to wait on her mistress, and Wogan suggested that she should change clothes with the Princess Clémentine and endeavour to personate her for as long as possible after her escape. They did not venture to tell Jenny the true nature of the enterprise on which they were engaged. She was informed that Captain Toole had fallen in love with a beautiful heiress whose friends opposed the match, and that he was now about to carry off the lady. Some one has said that human nature is very prevalent among women, especially among servant-maids, and Jenny was no exception to her class. She entered *con amore* into the plot, delighted in picturing the dismay of the cruel relatives of the Captain's sweetheart, and readily consented to take her place for a day or two, vowing it was "as good as a play."

While all these preparations were being conducted with the utmost secrecy, a grand ball was given by the mayor of Schelestat, and amongst the guests was Major Gaydon. Wogan, who had remained at home in conversation with Lieutenant-General Lally, the father of the celebrated and unfortunate Lally Tolendal, was much alarmed at seeing his friend return hastily soon after midnight, with consternation depicted on his countenance. On inquiring the reason, he learned that it was currently reported at the ball that the Princess Clémentine had been carried off from Innsbruck, on the 30th of the previous month, by an Irish gentleman named Wogan, on hearing which Gaydon hurried off to tell his colleagues all was lost. Wogan, though alarmed, retained his presence of mind. The falseness of the report, he said, was in their favour. Its inaccuracy would soon be discovered, and people would be less likely to believe other and possibly better founded rumours on the same subject. Still, the knowledge that something with regard to their expedition must have leaked out

filled him with uneasiness, and made him anxious to leave as soon as he could. All was at last in readiness. Vezzosi arrived from Ohlau with the necessary powers, and on the 8th of April, 1719, the little party set out for Strasburg. Count Dillon, commander of the regiment to which O'Toole, Misset, and Gaydon belonged was at the time in Paris, but Wogan, mistrusting the posts, did not venture to write to him asking leave of absence for his officers, taking it for granted that the Count would sanction anything for the good of their sovereign, James III.

No sooner had our travellers arrived at Strasburg than Wogan was arrested by order of the Regent Orleans, who had given strict injunctions that the Earls of Mar and Perth, subjects of King James, should be seized did they attempt to enter France. As our friend did not answer to the description of one or other of these noblemen he was set at liberty, "the magistrates," to quote Wogan, "little suspecting they had just freed a person much more dangerous to the Quadruple Alliance than either."

On the 17th of April, 1719, they left Strasburg, and despite the badness of the roads, reached the frontiers of Bavaria and Tyrol on the 21st of the same month. Misset and Michael Vezzosi now rode on to inform Châteaudeau that the others would wait instructions at a village called Nazareth, two posts from Innsbruck, and that he was to communicate with them through the medium of Konski, the Polish page of the Princess Sobieski. On the 23rd of April the rest of the party reached Nazareth, and soon after Konski arrived to say it had been decided by his august mistress that the attempted escape should take place on the night of the 27th. That was still four days off, and delay was fraught with danger. The arrival of strangers was likely to excite comment in the village, and might reach the ears of the authorities; moreover, to the great alarm of our friends, the landlord of the little inn where they stopped recognised Konski as an attendant of the Princess Sobieski. To divert his suspicions, Toole, who spoke German like a native, made friendly overtures to him, asked questions about Augsburg, and inquired the address of a certain Herr Canvar, a banker there, known to the innkeeper, thus allowing him to understand that that town was their destination. Meanwhile, another trouble had arisen. According to the English version, Jenny, the maid, so bold and fearless at Strasburg, felt her courage ooze away as the time drew near when she was to personate an unknown lady, and remain behind among strangers, nor was she to be comforted and consoled until her mistress presented her with a rich suit of damask, and the whole party solemnly swore no harm should come to her. The later French edition adds that their difficulties with Jenny were not yet over. True, she was now decided to aid in

carrying out the scheme, but a fresh obstacle had to be overcome, more serious to her mind than all the risks to be run, since, as the daughter of an Irish dragoon, she did not want spirit. The facts were these. The lassie was no beauty; that was admitted by her best friends, but, like many plain women, she was inordinately vain of her good points, which, besides her fine figure, were, in her own eyes, her uncommon height and her pretty feet. To increase the one and show off the other of these advantages, she was accustomed to wear the daintiest shoes possible in her position, with heels nearly five inches high, vowing she could walk in no others, and was fond of contrasting herself with Captain Toole, the tallest, and, according to many, the handsomest man in his regiment, who stood about six feet three. When it was explained to her that unless she wore shoes without heels the difference in stature between herself and "the heiress" would be too marked, she flew into a rage, and declared that though she was prepared to face any danger, if need be, she would wear ugly, low shoes for no one in the world. The shoes were insisted on, however, and a shoemaker was called in to measure her, when, in a towering passion, Jenny struck the man such a blow on his nose that it bled profusely. Her sweet-tempered little mistress, frightened almost out of her senses at this storm in a teacup, absolutely went down on her knees to beg of her to be quiet. Miss Jenny then had the grace to grow somewhat ashamed of her conduct, relented, apologised, and suffered herself to be measured in silence for the obnoxious foot-gear.

On the 27th of April our friends left the inn at Nazareth, taking the Augsburg road, but having gone a little way they drove across and got safely to Innsbruck, putting up at the Aigle Noir, where they stabled their horses, got all in readiness, and waited for nightfall. Now that Princess Sobieski has been so long dead, I hope it is not treason to say she must have been rather a tiresome person to deal with. Every arrangement had been made to carry out their scheme at once, but not content with the results of her former delay at Augsburg, she now sent a message asking the rescuers to defer their departure for a day or two, as the weather was bad, and she did not like her daughter to brave it. Wogan, however, was firmer than Hay, and replied that all arrangements had been made for that night, that the storm was to their advantage, and that so good an opportunity might never recur. The lady consequently yielded.

Princess Clémentine had been previously instructed to feign illness for two or three days before her intended flight, and Jenny was desired when she replaced her to confine herself to bed for a day or two, saying she was worse, and refusing to see any one but her supposed mother. So well was the secret kept

that even the Countess Gabriel, the governess of the princess and her intimate friend, was not told of their approaching separation, lest her grief should rouse suspicion. Châteaudeau had promised Wogan to be at hand about midnight to introduce Jenny into the princess's chamber, clad in "a shabby riding-hood, and female surtout of the English fashion," which Clémentine was to put on. The latter was then to be escorted by the gentleman usher down a back stair, through a side-door, and across the street to a corner where Wogan and Toole would await her and convoy her to the inn, where the rest of the party were assembled. Wogan and Toole, with Jenny, proceeded to the *rendezvous* at the appointed time, the last-named grumbling audibly at the discomforts she endured paddling along through the rain in her new shoes without heels. Not much notice, however, was taken of her complaints, but as the men talked in whispers to each other, the girl's sharp ears caught something about "the princess," and stopping short she cried, "Surely Captain Toole is not foolish enough to think of carrying off a princess"? They reassured her with difficulty, being "oblig'd to stop her mouth with fresh Protestations, and some Pieces of Gold," and at midnight she tapped as directed at the postern-door, which was opened immediately by Châteaudeau, who led the girl upstairs. The Princess Clémentine, in accordance with her assumed character of invalid, had retired early, but, when left alone, rose, dressed herself, and spent the short time that remained to her in affectionate conversation with her weeping mother. That the Princess Sobieski should not be blamed for her daughter's flight, Clémentine wrote a letter asking pardon for what she was about to do, and excusing herself on the plea that all laws, human and divine, compelled a woman to follow her husband. Too soon it seemed to the afflicted women, Châteaudeau knocked softly to tell them Jenny had come, and Clémentine took the elder princess tenderly in her arms. "My dear mother," she said, "I am just a-going, and must ask your blessing; the maid is come who is to take my place."

While she was putting on her travelling dress the pert Jenny was watching every movement of "the heiress," and at last broke in, "You little think, madam, how many people you have made languish with desire to see you." Then having minutely surveyed her from head to foot, she added, "I can't but say you are very handsome, and well worth the pains they have taken about you." Clémentine smiled, and Jenny having helped her on with hood and cloak, gave her a hearty kiss, which was warmly returned. With one last close embrace to her mother, the fugitive followed Châteaudeau down the winding stair.

All day the storm had been increasing in violence, and now a

furious tempest raged over the town of Innsbruck. The wind swept the narrow streets like cavalry charges, driving the sleet before it; the sleet crept back during the lulls, like scattered troops re-forming, drops coming down sharp, straight and pitiless as musketry fire, splashing the swishing water from every pool, as bullets rip the earth. The night was not one for a Christian to be abroad, thought the shivering sentry who paced up and down by the dark walls of the *schloss*, and grumbled that his commanding officers, now safely housed in barracks, had provided no sentry-box into which he might creep. Very tempting to the shivering man was the red light gleaming, despite the lateness of the hour, from the window of the little *gasthof* opposite, whispering of a cosy hearth, cheerful society, and a glass or two of *schnapps*. Should he cross the street, and for one moment enjoy these comforts? Why not? There was no danger, no special need for watchfulness—above all, not a soul was in sight. Who indeed except a poor sentry would be abroad on such a night? While the man deliberated, he was unconscious that his movements were anxiously scrutinised, and that close to where he stood the princess he was set to guard but waited for him to turn his back to make a rush for liberty. At last his meditations ended as might have been expected. No sooner had he entered the little inn than the trembling Clémentine ventured forth, and swiftly but noiselessly gained the corner, where stood Wogan and Toole in a fever of impatience and anxiety at the delay.

After a hasty but respectful greeting, they made their way as best they could to the inn, battling with the wind, stopping now and then to turn their backs to it, and breathe more freely, keeping to the middle of the narrow thoroughfares to escape the drenching torrents vomited by every gutter, down-pipe, and hopper-head, till they reached the Black Eagle, where the rest of the party were assembled. One slight adventure they had. Wogan had given Clémentine his arm, and though scarcely a word passed between them in their anxiety, he did all that he could for her comfort. She hesitated on the brink of an overflowing channel, and he, seeing something in the centre that he took for a log, desired her step there. She obeyed, but the supposed log proved to be a floating wisp of hay, and down went the poor little princess over her ankles in wet and mud. Wogan was aghast at his mistake, but there was no time for apologies; he hurried her on, and soon they found themselves in the cheerful sitting-room with Captain and Madame Misset, Gaydon and Michael. Madame Misset removed Jenny's old cloak from the shoulders of the dripping princess, helped her on with a dress of her own she had aired in readiness, pulled off her shoes and stockings, and warmed

her frozen feet by thrusting them into Wogan's and Gaydon's muffs. Clémentine hastily swallowed some hot spiced wine and put on dry foot-gear while the carriage was being brought round. Konski, her mother's page, had followed her, bearing a parcel containing a few articles of inside clothing and a casket with her own jewels and those of the Stuarts, brought to her two months previously by the Marquis de Magny, and valued at the lowest computation at 150,000 pistoles. The narrative goes on to say that when Konski saw his young mistress delivered over to such a band of strangers, he was either so grief-stricken or so frightened that he laid down his packet and ran away. On account of the delay caused by the sentry, it was two in the morning before they fairly started, Captain Misset, who had gone on to see if the coast was clear—to act, in fact, as pilot-engine—was to wait for them at the top of the Brenner, five leagues from Innsbruck. Every one in the inn, except the landlady, had retired when the carriage drove out of the courtyard. They passed through the faubourg not far from the schloss, tears gathered in Clémentine's eyes as she thought of her mother; a moment later she remembered the jewels—if they were found, all Innsbruck would be upon their track. There was nothing for it but to fetch them. Toole rode hastily back, and the others waited “in silence and alarm.” Arrived at the Black Eagle, he found the weary landlady had gone to bed, first closing the gateway, which was secured by a bolt. Exerting his prodigious strength, Toole absolutely raised it off its hinges, made his way to the room they had left, felt about in the dark till he found the casket, seized it, groped his way out, and galloped off without being seen or heard by one of the inmates. By sunrise the party were fifteen miles from Innsbruck. At Brenner they came up with Misset, and here the Princess Clémentine fainted from grief, fatigue, and want of food. Fortunately, however, Madame Misset had in her pocket a tiny bottle of Eau de Carmes, and a teaspoonful revived the poor girl, who, when she had partaken of food, soon recovered her spirits. She delighted her companions by her cheerfulness. They wanted to place a cushion under her head that she might sleep, but she would not hear of it, and took the greatest interest in asking questions about England, the chief families there, the manners, dress, and customs of the people, and so on. She learned several English phrases, and made Wogan tell her all about the Preston prisoners, of whom he himself had been one, and the adventures of the Chevalier in Scotland. “After this,” says the narrative, “Major Gaydon entertain'd her with the many Sieges and Battles that General Dillon's regiment of the Irish Brigade had been engaged in, particularly the Battle of Cremona; and the Pleasure she took in hearing these Martial Stories showed her to

be the 'genuine Spring of the great Sobiesky.'" They galloped down hill to Brixen at the foot of the Brenner, beguiling the time by singing and telling stories; but gradually the conversation ceased, for the party were tired out, and by degrees they all dropped off to sleep except Wogan, who only kept his eyes open by taking huge pinches of snuff as was then the custom. At last, towards evening, he too dozed, and suddenly let the packet of snuff drop on the curly head of Clémentine, who had fallen asleep at the bottom of the carriage, resting against his knees. She awoke with a start and a little cry of alarm, and poor Wogan was so taken aback that he could only stammer, "Highness, it will not occur again." Nor did it; for by a wonderful effort of will he did not once close his eyes till they reached Verona, after a further journey of forty-six hours. Much annoyance was caused the fugitives by the difficulty of obtaining post-horses. They found that the Princess of Baden and her son, whom Clémentine had been bribed to marry, were preceding them on their way to Rome, and as they travelled with great pomp and circumstance, they secured everywhere the best animals, so that when Wogan and his party followed an hour or two later, he could only find screws that had been rejected, or tired beasts smoking from the traces. Once the coachman and postillion proved to be either drunk or stupid, and a fatal accident was averted almost by a miracle. It happened thus: the road wound along a precipice that stood sheer above the Adige, and, as usual, the horses were galloping down hill, when suddenly a heavy German waggon, laden with goods, rounded a corner and appeared right in their path. The men, instead of drawing up to let it pass, drove on as if mad. The waggon taking the inside of the road, they took the outside, and might have gone over the precipice, but that the wheel came in contact with the trunk of a tree on the edge of the abyss, so that the carriage was violently capsized into the middle of the road. Wogan, the only one awake inside, jumped out to find O'Toole, white with rage, lashing the coachman with his riding whip. Every one wanted to know how the accident had happened, but O'Toole, fearing to terrify the princess and the delicate Madame Misset, refused to give any explanation of the danger they had run.

They were not yet out of the Emperor's territory, and the fear of being pursued and overtaken before they passed the frontiers of the Venetian States was ever present with them. To guard against unpleasant possibilities, it was decided that O'Toole and Misset should now remain behind to guard the retreat, while Michael rode forward to secure horses.

On the 29th of April, at a village eight leagues from Trent, O'Toole had just ordered supper, when who should arrive in hot

haste but a courier, barely two hours after Clémentine had departed. The poor fellow was tired to death, having ridden day and night, and gladly accepted an invitation to share their meal. In answer to his inquiries, they represented themselves as merchants, bound for the fair of Trent; O'Toole, who, as we have mentioned, spoke German like a native, passing for a fellow-countryman, and Misset, his "partner," professing to be a Savoyard. The courier soon grew communicative under the influence of good-fellowship, told them the object of his journey was to have "the bandits" captured who had carried off the princess, and showed his despatches to that effect. One can fancy how sympathetic he found O'Toole and Misset as he went on to say how hard he had ridden, to convey General Heister's message to the Prince of Thurm and Taxis, Governor of the Trentine Provinces, and how he hoped they "would soon seize the rascals." Never were men kinder, but they told him they thought he might as well spare himself trouble, for a party answering to his description had passed through a long time before, and were probably at the moment beyond reach of pursuit. Meanwhile, they urged him to eat and drink, O'Toole plying him with liquor, while Misset, a capital actor, pantomimed pity and dismay. The last-named conspirator had slyly filled a jug with the strongest Strasburg brandy, and telling the courier that the wine of the country was uncommonly strong, advised him to add plenty of water to it. He agreed, seized the jug and diluted (!) his draught with the contents, swallowing the fiery mixture at a gulp, to reappear from the depths of his drinking-vessel with a very flushed countenance, crying that it was indeed "infernally strong," when they immediately poured in more "water." Gradually, his speech grew thicker, he wandered from the subject, mingled praise of his jovial companions with execrations of the fugitives, and tossed off glass after glass of the fortified wine. When at last he subsided into stupor, they helped him to bed, disengaged him of his documents, and leaving him to sleep for twenty-four hours without stirring, rode on to rejoin their party.

By this time the others had reached Trent, and were much annoyed by the conduct of the Governor, who seemed to delight in putting obstacles in their way out of pure perversity. Alas for them, if General Heister's courier had reached him before they were well out of the town! The Princess of Baden and her suite had, moreover, established themselves at all the inns, and there was consequently no room for our poor travellers; besides this, Clémentine, whose appearance was well known to the Princess of Baden and her chief attendants, was in mortal terror of being recognised, and so, afraid to stir out, she sat from 9

A.M. till 1 P.M. in a corner of her carriage in the grand square of Trent, carefully veiling her face, before they were able to conciliate the Governor, secure fresh horses, and pursue their journey. Between Trent and Roveredo, the road wound along the verge of a frightful precipice, which greatly alarmed Madame Misset, but the princess sweetly cheered and encouraged her, until they had passed it by. At Roveredo no horses were to be had, and they were forced to proceed with those they had already used. During the halt, Clémentine expressed a wish for tea, which by some accident was handed her in a can that had contained oil. She made no complaint, but drank it, and it was only when she handed back the vessel that its condition was discovered. They had gone about six miles farther with their tired steeds when the axle broke. This was mended with the assistance of some peasants, but broke again within half a mile of the next post; the carriage, however, fell so gently, being supported by two countrymen, as not to waken the princess, who had fallen into a sound sleep. Wogan carefully lifted her out; but, owing to the darkness, did not see a pool of water, into which her foot dipped. She woke with a start, calling on her mother, then remembering where she was, said merrily, "What say you to this Wogan, who always finds stepping-stones to wet me?" This was a little unlucky, for I never slept better in my life." At Allo, too, they could find no lodgings, all the inns being again occupied by the Princess of Baden and her train. They roused a smith, who promised to have the broken axle mended by seven in the morning, so Michael with two of the party remained to look after the coach, while the Princess Clémentine and Madame Misset were accommodated with a small country cart, on which they sat crouched up, leaning against each other, and soon fell asleep once more. Wogan and Gaydon walked one on each side, as escort. After a drive of about three miles the sleepers awoke, to see before them a great white wall, the boundary between the Emperor of Austria's dominions and the Venetian States. One can fancy with what joy and mutual congratulations they passed into safety.

On Sunday, the 13th of April, they arrived at Sery about five A.M. and heard Mass. Here the horses got time to rest, and on leaving Sery our travellers did not halt till they reached Verona. When nearing Chivova, the first garrison town of the Venetians, they had to pass a third precipice on the bank of the Adige. The narrow road was cut in the solid rock, and dated from Roman times. Here again Madame Misset's courage was put to the test and her nerves sadly shaken, but the cheerful little princess led her across by the hand, going first herself, would not suffer her to look down, and comforted her as before. At

Chivoa, for the first time, our wearied travellers undressed and lay down in peace.

On Monday, May 1st, the journey was resumed. They rested at Stellate, Michael being sent on to Ferrara to inquire for the Sieur de Conalski, whom the Chevalier promised should represent him at the marriage.

On the 2nd of May they put up at the Hotel de Selarin at Bologna, and the princess sent a message to the Archbishop, Cardinal Origo, a friend of her family, and, as before mentioned, an acquaintance of Wogan's, announcing her arrival, but desiring it should not be made public. Next day the Cardinal came on foot, to pay her Highness a private visit, and on the 4th he sent her a present of "a toylet, artificial flowers, and other little things." He also offered her a box at the Opera, where she could see without being seen, and the services of an officer to show her the curiosities of the town. On the 8th of May came an express from Mr. Murray, the Chevalier's agent, saying he would be that night in Bologna, so a second messenger was despatched to Ferrara for Conalski. Murray arrived as promised, bringing with him Mr. Maas, an English priest, but Conalski did not appear.

On the morning of the 9th of May the princess rose early, went to Mass, and received the Holy Communion. Conalski had not arrived, so the Marquis of Monti-Boularois, a man of high rank and a friend to the Stuart cause, was asked to represent Prince James Charles. When Mass was over, and the witnesses had assembled, the Chevalier's proxy delivered the powers left him, which were publicly read. The prince signified therein his readiness to marry the Princess Clémentine, and in accordance with his wish the ceremony took place immediately after, a ring being used which he had left for the purpose. The Chevalier quitted Spain for Rome as soon as he heard of his wife's safe arrival at Bologna. On the 15th of May, 1719, Clémentine entered the capital in state, amidst general rejoicings, the only exceptions being the Austrian and Hanoverian ambassadors; and on the 2nd of September she was publicly wedded to the Stuart Prince.

Not without reason do romance writers let the curtain fall on the happy marriage of the heroine; did they chronicle further they might have many a disillusionment, many a trial, many a profound regret to record; and so we prefer to leave the fair Clémentine in the pride of her youth and beauty, beloved by rich and poor, and still the idol of a devoted husband, rather than lift the veil that hangs over her short life.

The reader may be interested in some of the persons men-

tioned in the narrative, and so we will add that the Austrian emperor was bitterly reproached by the English king for his supposed connivance at his cousin's escape. To rebut the charge, and to prove his fidelity to his ally, that potentate promptly deprived his uncle, Prince Sobieski, of the duchies of Ohlau and Brieg in Silesia, though held by him as security for a large sum of money lent in 1683 to the Emperor Leopold, by John Sobieski, to pay expenses incurred in the war against the Turks, wherein the Poles had delivered the capital. Prince Sobieski was exiled to Passau, his wife was worried into a fever, and Charles VI. sent an account of all this to the English Court as a proof of his fidelity. At Rome, Wogan and his companions were created Roman senators by Pope Clement XI., the god-father of Princess Clémentine, the dignity being first offered to the former alone, and refused by him, unless his friends shared it. He was publicly thanked for his services by the Chevalier after his meeting with his bride, was created a baronet—an empty title under the circumstances—and promised a more substantial reward when his royal master succeeded to the throne of England.

Soon after his accession of dignity, Wogan was accused by the Anglo-Hanoverian ambassador at Genoa of having murdered five or six couriers on the road between Innsbruck and Trent! This was, however, if one may be pardoned the Americanism, "a little too steep," and he was allowed to embark in safety with his friend Misset, for Spain, where Philip VI. received them with much honour. They were at once appointed colonels in his service. Wogan devoted his leisure to poetry, which merited the encomiums of Swift, to whom he sent a copy of his verses "in a bag of green velvet, embroidered in gold." He died about 1747. Misset was created Governor of Oran in Barbary, where he ended his days in 1733. His widow thenceforth resided at Barcelona; we last hear authentic news of her in 1745. Jenny, her maid, died in her service. Gaydon and O'Toole returned to their regiments; the former died very old in 1745, the latter fell in battle against the Austrians, under Leckendorf, on the Moselle, and with his death we end our history of a Royal Elopement.

C. O'CONOR ECCLES.

ART. IV.—THE LABOUR PROBLEM: PAST AND PRESENT.

THE Social question—and the labour difficulty with which this paper is alone concerned is more than half the Social question—has been called a new question; it is not any more new than the moon. Like the latter it has its phases; and all that is novel about it is, that its present aspect is new to this generation. The Social problem has been often formulated, but never so completely or forcibly as in the Divine Parable of Dives and Lazarus. In thrilling and terrible contrast are there placed the poor man and the rich, both here “upon this bank and shoal of time,” and on that ocean unbounded and soundless—the dread Hereafter. Various are the devices proposed in our age for assuaging or healing the sores of Lazarus; the Trade Unionist proposes organisation of labour; the Socialist, the emancipation of the land and capital of Dives to be henceforward managed by the community in the interests of all; while the Nihilist fiercely suggests that in order to improve the health of Lazarus, the constitution of Dives must be shattered with a dynamite bomb. The Christian invites Lazarus to be patient, and entreats Dives to make to himself friends of the Mammon of iniquity by taking his wounded brother to his bosom. From the four cardinal points rise these four voices on the world in this last decade of our dying century. To which of them will this cavernous, old world listen? In the answer to this question lies the solution of the problem.

The song of the labourer no longer accompanies the sound of his tools; hoarse murmurs, hoarser than the groaning of machinery, rise funereally on the murky air—the murmurs of discontent. Strikes have taken place all over the world during the last thirty months; formerly they occurred in isolated groups—they were not even national—now they are international. It would be impossible to say in which country this last great strike movement began. In America in 1886, no less than 9861 strikes and lock-outs took place, accompanied by riots and the loss of many lives. In 1887 the number of strikes was only about one-half of those in 1886, and the decline continued until this year, when, following a movement begun in Europe, an epidemic of strikes again broke out in the United States. In whatever country, however, the present movement began I cannot help connecting the germs of the social discontent which led to it with Germany. There the movement has developed so much importance as to engross recently the attention of the Emperor

and Parliament, and even to lead to the meeting of a great International Congress. But in Germany, it must be observed, the progress of amelioration in the condition of the workman is far in arrear of England, as is the case generally upon the Continent. It is only now that the Continent has commenced really to follow the example of England in labour organisation, factory legislation, the protection of women and children, the observance of the Sunday's rest, and the liability of the employer for accidents. From Germany the strikes spread to Belgium, France, Austria, England, America, finally becoming universal. In Belgium, Bohemia, and France, they were accompanied by outbreaks against persons or property, from which they were happily entirely free in England. On the Continent of Europe the men were led by Anarchists, Socialists, and revolutionary politicians generally; in England the political element did not show itself, although some leaders are avowed Socialists. In America, notwithstanding its imported and engrafted Socialism, no noteworthy revolutionary feature has characterised recent strikes; the memory of the terrible Chicago riots in 1886, put down by a no less terrible hand, may have had its chastening effect, and stemmed the daring of aggressive anarchy, which generally makes the workman, with his just grievances, the innocent tool for accomplishing nefarious designs. The great Republic that shows itself extremely tolerant to all opinions, has taught Europe many lessons in freedom. She showed at Chicago that she knows how to protect freedom when menaced by licence. It may seem strange that the United States should have been the theatre of such a drama as that of Chicago; but it must be remembered that the Republic of Washington opens its gates wide to all political refugees. Thither fled the French Communists after 1871, thither also went the German Socialists, expatriated by the law of 1878. The hollowness of the cry for freedom of these infatuated men is shown by their conduct when, liberated from European despotism, they obtained for the asking, the glorious privilege of American citizenship. They conspired beneath the stars and stripes as they had conspired under the gloomy shadow of the Imperial German Eagle, or the "bourgeois" tricolor. The contagion spread, but received a full, prompt, and salutary, if severe, check at Chicago.

English workmen are pressing home their demands for better pay and shorter hours, but as yet abstain from violence. This presents a contrast from former strikes. There are also other and remarkable contrasts. In former years strikes took place when trade declined, and the workmen sought to prevent reduction of wages. They were seldom successful. This time they began with a revival of trade, and are aggressive, so to speak, in so far as the

strikers demand better wages and shorter hours. Contrary to former experience, the modern strikes have been generally successful, but not until they have inflicted loss on the capitalist, hardship on the strikers and their families, inconvenience upon the community, and filled the minds of all with a gloomy foreboding never experienced before, that if persisted in, this country will lose her commercial greatness, and consequently her power.

I propose in what follows to treat chiefly of the cause of this great perturbation of labour, particularly in our own country. No effective remedy can be applied in any disease until the cause of that disease is laid bare. I will lay bare the cause of labour revolt, and whoever chooses to follow what I write, will see that there is but one main cause of labour difficulties, and so consequently there is but one efficient salve. I will point out what that is, and not concern myself with considering any of the innumerable makeshift remedies on which modern intellect is squandering its ingenuity. They all lack the principle of vitality; they cannot live, and hence cannot work. Co-operation, boards of conciliation, and the rest are mere expedients begotten of deadly pessimistic selfishness. Their roots are dried up, as we shall see.

I ascribe the revolt of labour to one great remote cause, which some have called the historical cause; it is more correct to call it the traditional or hereditary cause. In opposition to this view, some may say: there can be no continuity in the actions of workmen; they were ignorant for ages; they seldom read even now, have no reflective powers, and are guided by impulse. It wants no books to transmit a feud; books could not transmit it any more than a man's portrait could reproduce that man's likeness in his grandson. Continuity is produced by heredity: the Past is never dead, only working invisibly in the Present.

The history of labour is not writ large; chroniclers shared the general contempt and disregard of the humble toiler, except when he caused by revolt some commotion in the State, and hence it is a matter of no small difficulty to weld the detached episodes regarding him into a whole. As it is impossible to understand the labour problem without tracing its history, I feel that it is absolutely requisite to do this, but in such compendious form as the limits of this paper necessarily prescribe.

The history of labour commences with the day when Adam was expelled from Paradise. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the earth, out of which thou wast taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return" (Gen. iii. 19). The practice of employing hired labour became in process of time prevalent among the Hebrews. Labourers were paid by the day, and each day received their wages. "The wages of him

that hath been hired by thee shall not abide with thee until the morning" (Lev. xix. 13). The hireling was engaged apparently for a fixed period, probably three years, as would appear from passages in the 7th and 14th chapters of Job, but particularly Isaiah xvi. 14. The Divine vengeance was denounced against those who oppressed the hireling.

But besides hired labour, the Hebrews took advantage also of the slave labour of their bondmen. No Hebrew could be sold into slavery outside his own nation, doubtless because that would give him over to idolatry; but sometimes, as a punishment, the Hebrews were led into forcible captivity. The 15th chapter of Deuteronomy lays down very clearly the duty of the master towards his bondman, and fixes the time and manner also of the manumission of the latter. The master could not send him adrift penniless. "But [thou] shalt give him for his way out of thy flocks and out of thy barn floor, and out of thy wine-press, where-with the Lord thy God shall bless thee" (Deut. xv. 14). After six years' service the bondman was free, if he chose to go; if, on the other hand, finding he was well off, he chose to remain, then his ear was bored, and he became a bondman for ever. In the same chapter will be found an injunction to the Hebrew people to succour all who fell into poverty, so that no beggar should be found in the land. Very different, therefore, was the treatment of the slave among the Jews from what it was in Pagan nations. He was provided for, both in body and soul, for he worshipped with his master; he had the hope of freedom, and he could not be harshly treated; neither could he be sold out of his own country. Even foreign slaves were well treated among the Hebrews, who permitted, it is commonly believed, the Hivite inhabitants of Gibeon, whom they made "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to follow their own customs in a colony apart from the Jews.

No record has preserved to us any account whatever of the fate of those millions of toilers who built up the great palaces and monuments of Assyria and Chaldæa. From the Scripture references, however, we may reasonably conclude the bulk of the work was extorted tyrannically from slaves. This slavery was the burden of Babylon when by her waters the children of Israel sat down and wept; it was one of the crimes that brought about that desolation that swept her fortunes into darkest night for ever, that made her streets a howling wilderness, and her fields a desert place, where the Arabian pitched no more his tent, and where the shepherd abode no longer. From Egypt comes the same dreadful story. The proud and pompous dynasties that have projected their pyramidal greatness into all time were slaveholders of the most abominable type. On their own monuments

we can to-day behold the representation of the scourging task-master brutally flogging his slaves, and actually one of their hieroglyphics is the figure of a slave. We know, too, what the Pharaohs made Israel suffer, until, for the freedom of worship, the captive Hebrew people struck work, and this is the first strike of which we have record.

The gloomiest page of ancient Roman history is that which records the wide prevalence of slavery under that mighty and polished people, and the heartless brutality with which slaves were treated. The slave was a chattel; he was bought and sold like a horse, but was treated with much more cruel usage, and less respect. In common with the *plebs*, and the *liberti*, or manumitted slaves, he carried on all the work of commerce, the mechanical arts, and every servile occupation. No high-born Roman would stoop to trade. Frequent revolts testify to combination amongst these three classes, but we have a stronger proof than this that, under the Romans, labour had become organised. There were the *collegia opificum*—i.e., mechanics' guilds—resembling in their arrangements for mutual protection the mediæval guilds.

Nor were the barbarous nations that overthrew the western Roman Empire a whit better than the great power they demolished as regarded slavery. They had their own slaves, chiefly Slavonian captives, from which appellative the word *slave* is derived. The Anglo-Saxons had their slaves or serfs, and these numbered about 25,000, or one-eleventh of the registered population at the time of the Norman Conquest. Under the Normans, these, with many of the churls, became the *villeins* of the conquerors, ultimately destined to develop into the English peasantry.

A new power had made itself felt on the destruction of the Roman Empire, and for some time before. This was Christianity. By a process of evolution, first reforming and then obliterating, Christianity washed out the plague-stain of slavery from Europe, and is still pursuing the same holy work for every continent of the world. Irresistibly, silently, slowly, like a mighty river carving out its rugged bed, Catholicism made its way, reforming and transforming as it went. Were it not for causes which shall be exhibited later on, under the action of the Church villenage would have been extinct in the fourteenth century. In this work of freedom the much hated confessional had probably the larger part. When the lord lay extended on his death-bed, the confessor, crucifix in hand, urged him to free his serfs, and the appeal was seldom ignored. By the fourteenth century, villenage was on its death-bed, when an Act of the Legislature restored it.

The serf then was the progenitor of the peasant: for this

reason, if for none other, we cannot reject the historical cause of labour troubles. But there are others, the nature of man and the principle of heredity. In Pagan times and nations, when man was left to himself, the horrible traffic in the souls and bodies of men and women was carried on by their own species. This arose from the greed of homage, the greed of money, and the darker carnal lust. Are these passions extinct? Do not the nations still inherit the taint which long centuries of slave-holding among their forebears has transmitted? Yes; and if Christianity could collapse the slave-trader would flourish in every land. I have but shown a few of the links glinting out from the dust of the past that connect our labour problem of to-day with an almost forgotten time. I will now trace that chain from the thirteenth century to the present time, a period during which its links can be numbered and touched. And in order to do this rapidly and briefly I will confine my attention to England alone.

In order to arrive at an approximate idea of the wages paid in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, I have consulted the Fabric Roll of Westminster Abbey for 1253, the Pipe Rolls of Henry III., and some building accounts relating to the Abbey. I have translated several of the entries, and arrived at the conclusion that, in the thirteenth century and the early part of the fourteenth, the wages of artisans employed on the Abbey were on the average 2s. per week, and the labourers from 1s. to 1s. 2d. per week. It may interest the curious to see an example of one of these accounts. I give the account for wages for the sixth week after Easter in 1253.

"Ebd' vj sine festo. In stipend' xlj albor' cissor' xvj marmor'
 "xxxv cubit' xxxijj carpent' Pet^o Pictor' xv poll' xvijj fabror' xijj
 "vit' ar cum vj plumb' xix^{li}, et xix^d. In stip' cc et xijj minutor' op'
 "ar' cū custod' et el'icis et ij bigis diurn' xiiij^{li} et jd"
 "Sm^a total' stipend' xxijj^{li}, et xx den'"

The following is, I think, a fair translation :

Sixth week no holiday. In wages, 41 white-stone cutters, 16 marble masons, 35 stone-bedders, 33 carpenters, Peter the painter, 15 polishers, 18 smiths, 13 glaziers, with 6 plumbers, £19 1s. 7d. In wages, 213 common labourers, with gangers and clerks, and two wains* daily, £14 0s. 1d.

Total amount of wages £23 1s. 8d.

The error in the total will be noticed, but I have copied the transcript exactly as it is given.† As it is of great importance

* *Ij bigis*, translated as *two wains* may be disputed. The phrase refers to two carts drawn either by two oxen or two horses, probably the latter.

† *Vide* Sir Gilbert Scott's "*Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*," with notes by Professor Willis.

to fix the wages of this period, I will refer to the account of Brother John de Mordone one hundred years later (1350-1353). The wages of two masons for twenty-one weeks from Michaelmas to the 23rd of February are 70s., when a new agreement was made with them on account of "flesh time," whereby they had each 4d. a week more—viz., 2s. a week from February 23 to Michaelmas; the wages of Adam de Wytheneye, a bedder of stone, for 34 weeks are 66s. 8d., and his servant 48s. In 1342 I find the wages of a mason 2s. 6d. per week. I adhere, therefore, to my conclusion regarding wages given above. Multiply these figures by fifteen and you have the wages of that period converted into money of our time. Take off one-third and you will get the average rate then paid throughout England, for the men engaged on the Abbey were paid by the King, who was at that period the best paymaster in the realm.

Let us now turn and see what the prices of provisions were, as far as it may be possible to determine. This can only be done in a very general way. The year 1259 is described by Rishanger as "*frugibus et fructibus destitutus*," the floods were something unprecedented; the rains were so great that Bristol was inundated, thousands died throughout the land from famine, and at the feast of All Saints the crops in many parts were still on the ground. This was followed however by many fruitful years—even "*opulently*" fruitful, to use Rishanger's expression, until we reach 1288, when there was such abundance of corn that a quarter was sold at from 12 to 20 pence.* The year 1293 was unfruitful, and 1294 is described as "*destitutus*," during which many perished of hunger. The year 1296 was another bad year; 1297 was a year of penury, and 1298 was not abundant. A few mediocre years follow until 1303 which is described as hard, and 1305 seems to have been the first good year with which England had been blessed since 1288. Thorold Rogers puts the price of a quarter of wheat in 1287 at 2s. 10½d., and at 16s. in 1316,† but this latter was a famine year. From the general description I have extracted from Rishanger of the years from 1259 to 1303, the statement of Professor Rogers, and my previous observations regarding wages, the reader will probably now have enough data to guide him in drawing conclusions as to how far wages went in purchasing provisions in the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth century. An artisan and a labourer putting their

* quarterium frumenti alicubi pro viginti, alicubi pro sexdecim, alicubi pro duodecim denariis venderetur. Wil. Rishanger: *Chronica*, p. 117, *Rolls Series*.

† Capgrave states that in 1363, wheat was sold at 15s. per quarter. Capgrave hardly ever remarks on the price of provisions, therefore this must have been exceptionally high.

week's earnings together could buy a quarter of wheat in 1287, while in 1316 an artisan would have to work eight weeks to purchase the same quantity. The other years were intermediate, but upon the whole the workman's lot was not so bad, as may be seen from the lament of Capgrave, in 1353, when there was a drought from March to July and grass and corn were dried up, "So Ynglond," he says, "that was wone to fede other londis, was sayn to be fed with other londis." If previous to 1353 England could feed other nations, then her condition on the whole was prosperous.

In 1349 a disaster fell upon England of a grave and far-reaching character, and one which had an effect in engendering legislation which hindered for centuries the progress of England. This was the great pestilence called the Black Death. I will allow Capgrave, who was born in 1393, and who could have heard, and probably did hear, the doleful recital from some survivors, to tell the tale in his own words:

"In the XXIII Year (Edward III), was the Grete Pestilens of puple. First it began in the north cuntre; than in the south; and so forth throwoute the reme. After this pestilens followed a moreyn of bestis, which had nevyr be seyn. For as it was supposed there left not in Ingland the ten part* of the puple. Than cessed lordes rentis, prestis tithes. Because there were so fewe tylmen, the erde lay untilled. So mech misery was in the lond that the prosperite wech was before was nevyr recured."

This pestilence came from China, like most great epidemics, and was accompanied by various terrestrial and celestial phenomena. It still lingers in the East, modern sanitation having erected its barriers against it in the West. Mists and earthquakes accompanied its progress in the fourteenth century on its way hither from Asia. Many died on the instant the epidemic seized them. After its disappearance two singular physiological phenomena were noted: double and triple births became frequent, and there was a diminution by four in the number of teeth. In relation to our subject, however, it had an unquestioned and powerful effect—labour became scarce. The few remaining labourers made use of their survival; whether they were the fittest or not, they, at all events, were the only ones, and they made large demands in respect of wages. The King issued a proclamation imposing fines upon any who paid more than the wages which were paid before the Plague. His proclamation went void. Necessity, a greater king, annulled it. It was reduced by Parliament into the great Statute of Labourers, destined to remain the law of England

* This has been generally considered as an exaggeration. More than half, some historians say two-thirds, of the population were destroyed.

until the fifth year of Elizabeth. Its main provisions were that all under sixty should labour at farm work at the wages of 1347 or go to gaol, unless they were nobles, merchants, priests or artisans. They would be also sent to gaol if they quitted service before the expiration of their agreements. A lord of the manor who paid wages above the rate of 1347 was liable to pay three times the amount in damages. Artificers were put under the law as to wages, food was ordered to be sold at reasonable prices, alms were forbidden to be given to able-bodied beggars, and, as a final set-off against every injustice, all excess in wages, when discovered, went to the King. Several times this Statute was re-enacted with renewed and increased penalties, but was evaded frequently by both employers and workmen. It propagated however the strife between classes, sown by the slaveholder, which unfortunately has continued down to this very day.

If the Statute of Labourers, however, had little effect upon the rate of wages paid, it was followed by an Act in 1353 which practically brought down the rural labourers to a state of servitude—reduced them, in fact, to villeins *adscripti glebæ*, by forbidding them to quit their native parishes under severe penalties. It was a cardinal error to bring back to serfage classes that had tasted freedom; it led to combination and revolt, which had their culminating point in Wat Tyler's rebellion. True, the imposition of taxes had something to do with this rebellion, which, but for the inexcusable and outrageous violence of its leaders, would have accomplished a social revolution in the days of Richard II.; but any careful student of the pages of Froissart will see at a glance that the abolition of serfage was the main impelling force that brought this army of 60,000 peasants to the gates of London. With this rebellion the fourteenth century, pregnant with the germs of historical movement, closes as regards the labour struggle. The labourers were vanquished, but so nearly won that the lords, who were victorious, even in the height of feudal power, thought it wise voluntarily to concede some of the demands made upon them, so that the fifteenth century opened, and remains, the golden age of labour in England.

We cannot, however, enter upon the consideration of wages in the fifteenth century without dwelling for an instant on some characteristic features of the two preceding centuries, which bore very largely on the labour question. The first of these is that many, if not all the leaders in Wat Tyler's rebellion were Socialists. John Ball, the degraded priest, who was accustomed after Mass to harangue the congregation in the village churchyard, spoke, according to the faithful report of Froissart, as follows:—"Good people, things cannot go well, and never will

go well in England, until all goods are held in common, until there are neither villeins nor nobles, but all equal." John Ball would evidently be quite at home to-day in Hyde Park, Chicago, or Belleville. Another powerful movement, but one of a salutary and elevating character, was the establishment and wide-spread influence of the Religious Order instituted by St. Francis of Assisi in the twelfth century. This Order ennobled poverty, and in the thirteenth century its effect was all-pervading, and worked untold good in moderating peasant revolt in Europe and correcting the excesses of the upper class. A third influence was that of the guilds; but these require separate consideration. I do not propose in this necessarily rapid review to treat upon the whole question of guilds; for my purpose a glance at the trade guilds is all that is required.

Was a trade guild a trade union? Not quite, but so marvelously similar to the modern trade union in some of its developments, that it is of paramount importance to any student of the present engrossing question of labour settlement to consider the constitution and working of a trade guild in mediæval days. The trade guild, it is true, differed in soul and body, in matter and form, from the trade union; but its later tendencies were so shaped in the direction of the trade union, as I shall show, that I can only compare them to two different machines, each suited to its period, for performing similar work. There are, it must be understood, two sorts of trade unionism. I will explain what each is in its proper place. By trade unionism here, I mean the elder, legitimate, stable trade unionism. The soul of the trade guild was the Christian ferment that leavened it; in its body it differed from trade unionism, it was composite, containing both master and workman, while the trade union includes the latter only. The end sought was much the same, however, and hence the practical man will not differentiate too closely the methods adopted by each respectively, when he finds both sought, each in its own way, a common end.

The trade guilds were associations of men of the same craft, who imposed recognised and often arbitrary rules upon associates, and bound themselves to the performance of religious duties at certain times, in the churches of their patron saints. The capitalist was unknown in early times, and few masters employed more than one or two journeymen each, with certain apprentices. The heads of the guild were the searchers, who looked up delinquents, and received all fines. When the guild had municipal sanction, which was almost invariably the case, half the fines went into the municipal coffers. These fines were imposed for disobedience to the searchers, for the offence of drawing off custom from a member, for doing work for a customer who owed

money to a member, for refusing to consult with a member who required advice, for setting up as a "master" without the approval of the searchers, and for taking on apprentices for less than seven years. The guilds possessed large funds, very benevolently bestowed, which I shall refer to when I come to their unjust suppression.

I will now direct attention for a moment to the Bristol trade-guilds. Let it be remembered once for all that Bristol was the commercial and trade capital of England in those ages. London was the metropolis then as now, but in mediæval times Bristol was Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham in one. In her narrow streets, built on low marshes, the Black Death made itself terribly felt. If it destroyed the servant, it also destroyed the master, and as we have seen that a dearth of labour in the rural districts ensued upon the cessation of the Plague of 1349, so also in Bristol, and in a minor degree in other towns, the same dearth was felt, accompanied by a dearth also in the purveyors of manufactured articles, that is the master-craftsmen. The master craftsmen, who remained, made the most of their position. They extorted high prices for their wares, and as the demand was great, they reduced the quality of their goods. Fortunes were made rapidly, the master-craftsman became a large employer of labour, and labour flocked towards him from the country districts and from foreign parts. The reign of Capital had begun; and to Bristol all candid readers of History must ascribe the origin of Capital and the Capitalist. Thomas Blanket, a burgess of Bristol, at this time set up a loom in his house, introduced improvements in weaving, and in opposition to his trade guild employed foreign labour. Blanket was fined and boycotted by the guilds; the mayor promptly applied to the King, and a writ was sent down ordaining that he and others should employ what workmen they pleased. Here the guilds developed the spirit of trade unionism, by their ordinances they sought to put down the employment of *aliens*, and the employment of men who belonging to no guild flocked from the country districts into Bristol. But Blanket* and men like him persevered, became wealthy and powerful, and made in time those merchant princes that caused the renown of mediæval Bristol, and handed down to her citizens that inheritance of prosperity which makes Bristol still great, although her importance as a port, compared with her modern rivals, is at the point of insignificance. What took place in Bristol, took place in other

* The word *blanket* is said to be derived from the name of this successful merchant. This is not so, *blanket* and *blanchet* are old French for this word long before Thomas Blanket's time.

towns on a smaller scale, and at the opening of the fifteenth century we find Capital appearing, and Labour standing sullenly against it, as it stands to day. This is a remarkable and incontestable fact that, from the first, Labour the elder force, has been antagonistic to Capital, and Capital has returned the antagonism by opposing in every way the establishment of labour organisations as long as it was possible, and then fighting these organisations when formed. The reconciliation of Labour with Capital is the world-wide problem of to-day, and the great anxiety of the upright citizens of every State in the civilised world. How difficult it will be to effect this, if ever it can be effected, is seen at once by a consideration of the birth-sin of antagonism existing between the two.

I have said that the fifteenth century was the golden age of labour; and this is so universally admitted, that I need not dwell upon this period, but will content myself by offering a few general observations. Wages were much higher than before the Great Plague, and food was more abundant and cheaper. Beef was sold at a farthing the pound. Neither had the workman to fear the misfortunes of accident, sickness, or old age; the monasteries and the guilds provided for all his wants in full and overflowing measure, to which these institutions, the offspring of Christian charity, added the inexpressible comfort of personal loving kindness, which made the recipient of their bounty feel that a brother was caring for a brother, not a harsh official sternly doling out to a vagabond, an extorted benefaction. This latter degradation of charity and the poor alike, was reserved for the enlightened age of the Reformation and that "Tudor settlement" in religion which unsettled all things. Two contradictory charges have been made against monastic relief of the poor, which are mutually destructive. The one is, that by the indiscriminate charity of the monks and nuns they propagated a system of wholesale begging, and the other is, that it is a fallacy to suppose that before the Reformation the monasteries could have possibly relieved all the poor, so far apart were these great asylums of the indigent. Manifestly if they were too far apart to relieve incidental poverty, *a fortiori* it must have been impossible for them to have created a surplus mendicancy, and then relieved it. The facts are all the other way, however. The monasteries were not indiscriminate in their charity in the sense ascribed to them; they bestowed their alms, it is true, upon all the needy, but when they found the recipients able-bodied and healthy, the monks either gave or found work for them. The distance of the monasteries apart was no let to Christian charity. The spirit of Christianity was abroad in the land. The well-to-do laity were assiduous in relief of the indigent, almsgiving was a sacred duty,

as sacred as going to church ; the parish priest had to consecrate a third of his tithes to the poor, and if he failed in his duty, he was condemned by the Church as being more guilty than if he had committed simony or sorcery ; indeed, later on, in Mary's reign, to neglect almsgiving was considered as a proof of heresy ; and finally there were the guilds in every village, who looked after their indigent members, and made provision for the widow and the orphan. Then the golden sunlight of peace and plenty beamed upon the land, subdued and solemn, even as the sunshine of the visible heaven's radiance itself streamed through the multicoloured panes into those grand old gothic temples reared and cherished by the same hands that founded England's greatness, where every ray that penetrated passed through the memorial of some heroic achievement of saint and martyr in the storied glass. Heart and hand gave, heart and hand alike received, and blessed was he who accepted, more blessed he who bestowed. But this happiness was soon to cease, a woful change was at hand, a devil came into Eden, Harry Tudor gibbeted in history as the Eighth Henry, in an evil day for England, sat in the seat made sanctified by the Confessor, illustrious by the long line of the Plantagenets.

The evil wrought by Henry VIII. in the plunder of his subjects is irremediable. To him and to his courtiers alike may be applied the lines of Virgil :

Tristius haud illis monstrum, nec sævior ulla
Pestis et ira Deûm Stygiis sese extulit undis.

He circled the whole orbit of rapine and was a greater scourge to England than the Black Death. Not content with destroying the monasteries, taking thus from the helpless poor their chief support, he debased the coinage and undermined the guilds. Between 1543 and 1546 he issued base money three times, the last issue containing eight ounces of alloy in twelve ounces of metal. Wages remained the same, while the prices of commodities were in most cases trebled. Edward's guardians continued Henry's work, until the shilling in 1551 contained silver to the value of only 2½*d.* This base coinage was issued too, only a few years after the rich treasures of monastic plate had fallen to the Crown, showing how rapidly Henry and the knaves about him had squandered their sacrilegious spoils. Sir William Sharrington, the Controller of the Bristol Mint, had the plate of the Bristol and Somerset churches brought in, and issued it in base coinage ; the silver money coined for England was two-thirds alloy ; that for poor luckless Ireland was still worse, having three-fourths alloy. From 1543 to 1560 this debased money remained in use, then Elizabeth reformed the coinage ;

but issued base money herself for the Irish during Tyrone's rebellion. But neither the plunder of churches nor the profits of false coinage could fill the insatiable maw of Henry's exchequer; he cast about in the thirty-seventh year of his reign for a fresh source of plunder, and sank his beak promptly in the guild coffers. What he began Somerset finished, and the guild revenues and lands in the first year of the reign of Edward VI. were confiscated with the exception of a few too powerful to touch. The poor people sank wholly under this last blow. The guilds were their benefit societies; from them came old-age relief, sick pay, legacies to widows, apprenticeship for the orphan boy, a marriage portion for the orphan girl. Now all was gone, the monastery was roofless, the hospital closed, the guild plundered, prices high, and pauperism, a thing and a word hitherto unknown in England, spread like a deluge over the face of the land. The peasantry rose many times, and in many places: they were savagely put down, and under Edward VI. were branded like hogs, and put to work in chains. But branding and beating and chaining did not feed them; so before the end of Edward's reign collectors were appointed in every parish to gather subscriptions for the relief of the poor. As for the lower classes themselves, they had become so callous and brutalised during the reigns of Henry and his son, that when Mary came to the throne they were wholly corrupt, degraded, and immoral. There was a tendency during Mary's reign to return to the old order of things, and she and her counsellors might have done better in achieving what they desired, if they had begun where Henry left off, and restored the guilds. Combinations of workmen to raise wages were frequent in Mary's reign and that of Edward. Edward's Parliament passed very severe Acts for their repression, and the seasons during Mary's reign were so bad that discontent was deepened. No monarch ever kept a less expensive court than Mary, or imposed less taxes; her provision of an hospital for invalid soldiers, her commercial treaty with Russia, and her revocation of the privileges of the Hanse Town merchants in favour of her own subjects, were all measures distinctly beneficial and enlightened, which have called forth encomiums even from Protestant historians who have spoken in severe language of the Smithfield fires. But, generally speaking, Mary's reign left the labour question in the same condition at the end as it was in at the beginning.

In Elizabeth's reign two most important measures were passed, the first was the law giving power to magistrates in quarter sessions to fix the rate of wages in accordance with the rise or fall of prices in food. It is generally admitted that little regard was paid to the latter proviso; wages were kept miserably low in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and were frequently

supplemented by relief from the rates. This was decidedly wrong, as it drew from the ratepayer what should have come from the pocket of the private employer. The other great measure was the Poor Law, that wretched substitute for Christian charity, passed in her 43rd year. The laws against combination remained, were often re-enacted, and always enforced against the working-classes, who repeatedly sought to evade them down to their repeal in 1824 when trade unionism really began and the labour problem put on its modern garb.

I have now traced link by link the long chain of vicissitude in the position of the working-class, which in its continuity I claim to be the historical cause of our labour troubles. Under slavery man was brutalised ; from this the Church liberated him, but, at the first opportunity, the powerful and the wealthy, aided by the Governments of each successive period, sought unconsciously, but incessantly, to return to the hateful system, or the closest approximation to it. Under the Tudors and down to 1824, labour was really enslaved and degraded ; the natural reaction has arrived in the revolt of labour which we witness.

I will now look at a few of the proximate causes of present strikes. Competition amongst producers—that is amongst capitalists—and competition amongst the workmen, have undoubtedly tended to reduce wages. The workmen seek by combination to overcome the effects of competition, and to maintain wages at the maximum. The trade union is their instrument, and by it they seek to compel the capitalist to give the wages they themselves fix, and to limit the number of working hours, in order by employing more hands, to destroy the effect of competition. The result of over-competition was made apparent to all in the great strike of London Dockers last year. The Docks were habitually overcrowded with men looking for work. Artisans, agricultural labourers, the costermongers, and various others, had all, from over-competition in their own trades and callings, flocked to the Docks as a last resource. The infamous system by which a devouring crowd of middlemen, standing between the Dock Companies and their workmen, exploited the necessities of the poor to make labour cheap, was the main cause of this strike. In bringing about a settlement, His Eminence Cardinal Manning took the most prominent part. His action attracted the attention of the world ; he had the sympathy of nearly all classes, but some who did not understand the facts of the case were inclined to disapprove of his intervention. Anybody who reads the Report of the Committee on Sweating can no longer doubt that the work he did was beneficial to all, and equally becoming an apostle and a statesman.

The success of the Dock Strike and the revelations made

before the above-named Committee became a great incentive to extended combination all over the kingdom, resulting in fresh strikes nearly everywhere and in all trades; and with this short glance at the proximate causes of the modern prevalence of strikes I will leave this subject.

The machinery of a strike is of course the trade union and the federation of trade unions. Of trade unions there are two distinct classes, the old and the new; the old unionism bestows friendly benefits, and trade—*i.e.*, strike benefits on its members; the new unionism abjures friendly benefits as being calculated to render workmen peaceable and disinclined to strike, and will confer none but strike benefits. In the old system, care is taken that the members by health, conduct, and skill, are fit and proper persons for the association, and generally this system requires substantial contributions; the new system admits all-comers who are ready to pay to the funds a contribution, generally fixed at 2*d.* per week. In the old trade unions, of which very many exist, there is a practical guarantee to the employer of labour that he is getting a good man, owing to the self-protective rules of the union; there is no such guarantee with the new trade unions. It will be seen on reflection that the latter kind of unionism starts with a false principle, and therefore, whatever its temporary success, it must in the end produce evil.

The establishment by legislation of an eight hours day seems to be the chief object of modern labour agitators. There are heavy classes of industries, such as mining, puddling, gas-stoking, and probably others, where an eight hours day is long enough. No good can come to employer or employed, in my opinion, by keeping men engaged at these operations for a longer day than eight hours. I think this question ought to be settled, and can be settled, without the interference of the Legislature, and without strikes. The danger of legislating upon this matter appears to me to be this: there is no finality in it. An agitation may be begun in the textile trades, in the engineering trades, in all trades, in fine, for an eight hours day, and then Parliament will have no resource but to make a compulsory eight hours day for all of them. This done, the miners will agitate for a six hours day. Is Parliament to enforce its eight hours day, or confess itself beaten and legislate afresh? If Parliament failed, as we have seen, in fixing a minimum rate of wage, it will hardly succeed in fixing a maximum or minimum day.

The annual loss to Great Britain from a compulsory eight hours day for all wage-earners would be £50,000,000. How could it be enforced unless Parliament adopted the reactionary course of suppressing all piece-work? In any case, who is to compensate the nation for an annual loss of £50,000,000? The

advocates of the eight hours system dwell upon the fact that we now, with shorter hours, beat every other nation. This is true; much of our success is owing to the great superiority of our working-men and our temperate climate; more is owing to our unrivalled carrying power by land and sea, which alone can be maintained by great capitalists. But if other nations refuse to shorten their hours of work, are we going to burden our already hard-run industries with an annual tax of £50,000,000 and still hope to distance foreign competition? Whatever agitators may say, the foreign workman, no more than the foreign master, wants an eight hours day. The latter does not want it for obvious reasons; and only a few months ago, the French Parliamentary *Commission du Travail* issued 100,000 circulars to the working-men of Paris, inviting them to say if they wished an eight hours day. No more than 7454 answers were returned; of these only 1767 answers were in favour of an eight hours day; 1850 objected to Parliamentary interference; and the remaining 3837 fixed a day varying from ten to twelve hours.

The great and pressing business of the hour is how strikes are to be avoided. A strike is such a leakage of force, and consequently of wealth, that it is a sacred obligation upon all to seek some means to bring striking to an end. Let a man strike but for one day, and that day's labour and consequent profit are lost for ever. Endless nostrums have been proposed by the economist, the politician, the capitalist, and the philanthropist, but all want the principle of vitality, because the rich lack the confidence of the poor. The working-man knows nothing about the economist, and takes as much interest in him as he does in the great condor. The politician he only sees when that sleek poser comes vote-hunting; and he has begun to despise him. The capitalist he only knows as one who wants to keep wages low and raise rents, while the philanthropist too often, but not always, puts on an air of patronage which disgusts him. The truth is that as a nation we have lost the respect for poverty which was a cardinal virtue in the middle ages. The rich man then was the poor man's brother; when he beheld his poverty he saw in him the likeness of Jesus Christ, and raised his hat. When he found him by the wayside perishing, he took him to his bosom and warmed him there, poured oil into his wounds, comforted him, and sent him on his way rejoicing. We must go back to the old beaten road of Christian justice and Christian charity first, before we essay any plan for stopping strikes. That charity does not mean giving money. It means something more. It means that we must abandon our favourite doctrine of leaving the working-man to what we grandly call the operation of the natural law—the pagan policy of *laissez-faire*. We must win his confidence by treating

him as we would wish, were we in his case, to be treated ourselves ; by commencing to respect instead of despising him ; by making his acquaintance at other times than when we want to strip him in his poverty of something, or rush him out to vote. But he is drunken, improvident, and habitually impossible to satisfy, for God has not implanted in him the faculty of contentment, so nothing can be done, replies the cynical spirit, one of the evils of our time. This is the foundation of the policy of *laissez-faire*, which is hurrying us on to revolution ; because a man is feeble we will not try to help him, and because he is unhappy we throw the fault on his Creator. Meantime, the Socialist is gaining ground, and by the Socialist I mean the Revolutionary Socialist, not the Evolutionary Socialist or Social Reformer. He is obtaining the confidence of the poorer classes, while at the same time he is leading them on to their destruction and ours. To talk of Revolution I know may be derided as if one should speak of storm when the night is calm, while moonbeams dance, and "Orion and the Pleiades glitter down serene." Well, Waterloo followed a dance, and the sun shone on fair green fields enough in France in 1792, and on blood-red ones in 1793. But it is not from fear of revolution I urge conciliation between all classes ; I urge it on the ground that we should do what is right, because it is right. Labour is the nation's inheritance, therefore let the labourer be respected. The wealthier classes should make the first advance, because they are powerful and can afford to do it ; because their fathers have left them, from the unwise legislation which I have endeavoured to describe, along with their estates and fortunes, the sad bequest of labour revolt. When once again the wealthy have won the confidence of the poor, then plans may be essayed for stopping strikes, co-operation may be tried, or what you will. But the fact is, no further plan need be sought, for whenever confidence is restored, the problem of reconciling Labour with Capital will have been solved.

THOMAS CANNING, M.A., Inst.C.E.

ART. V.—CELEBRATION OF MASS IN ANTE-NICENE TIMES.

I AM only too conscious that the details on which I have been obliged to dwell have obscured the main point which I desired to bring out in this series of papers; and it therefore seems to me necessary to sum up the results at which I have arrived, in a description of the Mass as it must have been celebrated in Ante-Nicene times.

Let the reader then imagine that the bishop, with his attendant, twenty-four presbyters, and seven deacons, has made his preparation privately, either in the church, or more probably before entering. The service began by the reading of one or two lessons, a psalm being sung between each; after these came the Gospel. This was followed by the sermon—a practical exposition of the portions of Scripture which had just been read. As long as the early discipline of the Church prevailed the catechumens, penitents, and all who were not privileged to assist at the holy mysteries, were next excluded. The principal deacon now bade the faithful rise, and called on them to pray for the intentions which he successively announced: for the whole Church, for the Pope and all its ministers, for the sovereign, for all necessities, for catechumens, heretics, Jews, and heathen, the faithful kneeling after each bidding-prayer, and praying for a while in secret. Then the celebrant saluted the congregation, and said the "*Sursum corda*," which was answered as now, by "*Habemus ad Dominum*" (St. Cyprian, de Or. Dom. 31). He sang the Eucharistic Preface—the "*super panem gratiarum actio*," ending with the *Sanctus*, in which the whole congregation, at any rate as early as the middle of the second century,* joined.

The Canon which followed must, as I have shown, have been, to a great extent, identical with that now used. The faithful joined silently ("*sine monitore*," Tert. Apol. 30) and with outstretched hands in the intercession of the celebrant, the silence being broken by the deacon's publishing before the consecration the names of those offering;† and probably after the consecration the names of the departed who were specially com-

* See Tertullian de Orat. iii., and St. Satorius' vision of heaven in Ruinart, Pass. SS. Perp. et Felicit. xii. We may suppose that the word "*Hosanna*" had passed into liturgical use by the time St. Mark wrote his Gospel, since, contrary to his usual custom, he does not translate it.

† St. Jerome has preserved for us an account which shows how readily abuses must have grown out of this custom:—"Tantum offert illa; tantum ille pollicitus est . . . placent sibi ad plausum populi" (in Ezech. 16).

memorated. The Canon ended then as now with the "Amen," signifying the union of the faithful with the celebrant, which is particularly referred to by St. Paul, St. Justin, and Tertullian.* Until St. Gregory's revision, the fraction of the Host and the commixture followed the Canon immediately, as is still the case in the Ambrosian rite. The Lord's Prayer was preceded by the same prefatory sentence as now, as we may conclude from St. Cyprian and St. Jerome;† and was followed by the "Embolismus," or prayer against all evil, into which the last clause expands. There must have been a prayer in immediate preparation for communion, corresponding to the "oratio inclinationis" of all the early Liturgies, and represented by the "Perceptio corporis tui" of our Mass. The celebrant then received himself and gave communion to the ministers and congregation, the thirty-third psalm being meanwhile sung. This was apparently followed by a post-communion, like the "Quod ore sumpsimus," and the Mass ended with the celebrant's benediction.

It may be interesting to note some details connected with the administration of Holy Communion. The deacons assisted in the distribution of both the Body and Blood of our Lord; and they set apart the particles needed for the absent and for the faithful to receive in their own homes, as well as those reserved for the sick. The faithful stood to receive, the sacred particle being placed in the right hand of the men; women received it on the "dominicale," a linen cloth. Minute directions are given by the Fathers for its reception,‡ and the utmost care enjoined lest any portion should fall. At the end of the fourth century, in Italy and Africa, the celebrant said, in giving Communion, "Corpus Christi," and "Sanguis Christi," to which the communicant answered "Amen."§ By St. Gregory's day the form had become almost the same as now: "Corpus Domini nostri conservet animam tuam."|| Eusebius has fortunately preserved a passage in one of St. Cornelius' letters denouncing Novatian, which I quote in full, not merely because it shows how Communion was administered in the middle of the third century, but also because it testifies to the intense belief in the Real Presence which caused Novatian to act as he did. It reads more like an episode in some mediæval history than one from the church of the catacombs:—

After he has made the oblation, and divided a part for each, when he gives it to the communicants, instead of the usual blessing, he

* 1 Cor. xiv. 16; 1 Apol. 67; de Spectac. 25.

† "Inter sua salutaria monita et præcepta divina . . . etiam orandi formam ipse dedit" (de Or. Dom. 2).

‡ See especially St. Cyril Jer.: Cat. Myst. xxiii. 5, and Dom Touttée's notes.

§ Pseudo-Ambrose IV. de Sacram. 5; S. Aug. Sermon. 272, and contra Faust. 12. In Alexandria the corresponding phrase was *σώμα διόν*.

|| Vita S. Gregorii a Joan. Diac.

constrains the unfortunate men, holding with both his hands the hands of the communicant, and releasing them not until the communicants have sworn as follows (for I will use his own words): "Swear to me, on the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will never leave me, and turn to Cornelius." And the wretched man does not receive until he has first cursed himself thus, And he who takes this bread, instead of saying the "Amen," says. "I will never more return to Cornelius."*

Communicants were carefully instructed by St. Cyril of Jerusalem how they were to hold out their hands, "making the left hand a throne for the right, which is about to receive the King, and hollowing the palm, receive the body of Christ while answering the Amen." The piety of the faithful led to various devout practises, such as applying the Sacred Host to their eyes before receiving, and signing their lips with the sign of the cross immediately after taking the precious Blood,† practises which were commended by the Greek Fathers from Origen to Theodoret, but which were liable to abuses that led to their prohibition in the West.

The amount of ceremony with which the Holy Sacrifice was offered must have varied from a very early period according to opportunity. The few scattered references which bear on this subject in Origen show that the pomp and ceremonial with which a High Mass was celebrated in his day must have been considerable. And we have a more detailed account of a High Mass in Egypt at the beginning of the fourth century, in the works of the so-called Areopagite, which with very few modifications might serve as a description of a Pontifical High Mass at the present day. On the other hand, it will be remembered, I quoted an opinion of the older liturgiologists that, under stress of persecution, the Holy Sacrifice was offered in the early ages with merely the words of Institution and the Lord's Prayer. This view was based upon several passages in the Fathers which at least show that a form of the Liturgy with less ceremonial, corresponding to our Low Mass, must have existed; and there are others which imply the same, such as Tertullian's belief that St. Paul (Acts xxvii. 35) said Mass on board ship.

There is, at any rate, good ground for supposing that the ordinary Sunday Liturgy differed at a very early time from that used on other occasions. The Didache gives two accounts of the Liturgy; one apparently referring to the first Communion of a convert, and the other being the Sunday Mass. St. Justin follows the lines of this treatise in this matter as in so many

* Hist. Eccl. vi. 43.

† See other instances in Dom Touttée's Admon. Præv. to St. Cyr. Jer.: Cat. Myst. xxxiii.

others; and his description is the more valuable, because it is the sole instance when a Christian writer broke through the "discipline of reserve," and endeavoured to give an account of the great act of Christian worship to the heathen. In the sixty-fifth chapter of the Apology which he addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, before the middle of the second century, he describes the Sacrament of Baptism, and then says that the newly-baptised Christian is led to the assembly of the brethren. In the account which follows we can distinctly recognise the prayer of the faithful, the kiss of peace, the oblation by the bishop (*ὁ προεστώς*) of the bread and wine mixed with water. Then came the Preface, in which the celebrant "sends up praise and glory to the Father of all things in the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and makes thanksgiving at length for having been deemed worthy to receive these things from Him." The faithful responded Amen at the end of the Eucharistic prayer (Canon); after which the deacons distributed to all present the bread and wine and water, over which thanks had been given, and took away a portion for the absent. In the next chapter St. Justin explains that the word "Eucharist" was already used for the consecrated elements; and that none were allowed to receive them, save those who had been baptised and lived according to our Lord's precepts. For it was not received as common bread and wine, but as the Body and Blood of Jesus incarnate, changed by the words of prayer which came from Him, as He took on Himself flesh and blood by the word of God.* The words used in consecration are next given, as the words of Institution: "Do this in my remembrance; this is my Body;" and, "This is my Blood."

In chapter sixty-seven, St. Justin describes the Sunday Mass as follows:—

On the day which is called the Sun's there is an assembly of all, whether they live in the towns or the country. As much is read of the memoirs of the Apostles, or writings of the Prophets, as time will allow. When the reader has finished the president (*ὁ προεστώς*) exhorts and urges us by a discourse to imitate the excellent things (that have just been read). Next we all stand up together and offer prayers. And, as we have said before (cap. 65), bread and wine and water are brought forward, and the president offers up both prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his power, to which the people testify their assent by saying the Amen. The elements for which thanks have been given (*τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων*) are distributed to all and partaken of by them, and sent by the deacons to the absent.

* The sentence in which this is expressed is long and involved; but there can be no doubt as to its meaning.

The chief points in the early Mass, as I have described it above, will be easily recognised in this account. The reading of Scripture, the sermon, the prayers of the faithful, the Eucharistic and intercessory Preface and Canon, and the Communion, are very distinct. In two respects, however, it differs from the Roman Mass as we have hitherto dealt with it, so as to lead us to believe that either St. Justin is describing some other rite, or the Liturgy of Rome must have been altered after his time. There are plausible reasons for choosing the former of these alternatives. St. Justin was a native of Syria, and it is therefore not improbable that he may have frequented some church of his own nation where the Syrian rite was followed, such peculiar uses having been always permitted and even encouraged in Rome. This is the more likely, because there are so many coincidences in his works with the language and thoughts of the Clementine Liturgy in the Apostolic Constitutions, as to show he must have been familiar with the early form of the Syrian rite from which that Liturgy is derived.

On the other hand, Cardinal Wiseman, amid that wealth of learning which may be found in "*Fabiola*," points out that St. Justin, in his Acts, is made to say that he only knew one Christian assembly in Rome, "the house of one Martin at the Timotheine bath." This appears to have been the house of Pudens, and if so the rite used must have been the Roman, and the *προσευχή* was the Bishop of Rome.* If this alternative is accepted, two changes must apparently have been made in the Mass since St. Justin wrote, in the middle of the second century. In the first place, it will be noticed that he speaks of the Preface as a thanksgiving "at great length" (*ἐπὶ πολὺ*); which description, taken with the indication of its contents, seems to correspond with the long Preface of the Clementine Liturgy rather than with the short ordinary Preface of the Roman Mass. I have observed no such evidence of familiarity with the Clementine Preface in other early Roman writers as would decide this point. *A priori*, it seems more probable that a long Preface—itsself derived from the "Great Hallel" of the Jewish Paschal service—should have been shortened, than that a short one should have been expanded into the shape which it now presents.

The position of the "*Pax*" is one of the points in which the Roman Liturgy differs from all others; and St. Justin only follows the rule in placing it before the Canon of the Mass. It is, however, remarkable, that he does not mention it at all in his account of the ordinary Sunday Mass, and in the description in

* Probst remarks, in another connection, that there is some reason to suppose *προσευχή* was ordinarily used only of the Pope by early Christian writers.

cap. 65, the kiss of peace may be specially connected with the reception of the newly-baptised convert. We are, therefore, not able to conclude decidedly from this passage whether the Pax occupied the same position at St. Justin's day in the Roman Mass as in the others. Even in them its place does not seem to have been at an early period fixed. If anything can be argued from 1 Thess. v. 25, 26, it must originally have preceded the Preface, and followed the prayers of the faithful; and this is its position in the passage before us, in Origen, and in the Clementine Liturgy. On the other hand, the account of the Mass in the second book of the Apostolical Constitutions puts it before the prayer of the faithful, and immediately after the exclusion of the catechumens. Probably such a change may have been made to facilitate that mutual recognition which was relied upon as the surest means of excluding those who had no right to assist at the Holy Sacrifice; and it is possible that a like alteration was made in Rome to keep from Communion the heretics who abounded there in the second century, and who mixed so freely with the faithful. By the fourth century, at any rate, we know from SS. Augustine, Jerome, and Innocent I., that the Pax occupied its present place in the Mass. Tertullian is commonly quoted as proving that it had the same position 200 years earlier; but his rhetorical language is ambiguous.*

With this contemporary account of the Mass in the second century, I may fitly close this series of papers. They have run to a greater length than I contemplated when I began them; for I found that, to show the antiquity of the Roman Mass, I had to go into details which must have been wearisome. Lest in following these the general purpose should be missed, I may briefly recapitulate what may be considered as established, as distinguished from what is doubtful or unproved.

I believe I have shown that

1. All Liturgies are found to agree more closely the farther they are traced back. Thus our Good Friday service and the Greek St. James are much more alike than their lineal descendants, the Roman Mass and the Liturgy of Constantinople of the present day.

2. The points in which all Liturgies agree must have been derived from some common source, and no other can be suggested than the teaching of the Apostles, who, while allowing much latitude in details, must have prescribed everywhere uniformity in the general structure and character of the service.

* De Orat. 14, "Quale sacrificium est a quo sine Pace preeceditur?" looks like a Pax at the end of Mass. But "quæ oratio cum divortio sancti osculi integra? Quem Domino officium facientem impedit Pax?" suggests rather a kiss of peace in close connection with the prayer of the faithful, and before the Canon. He distinctly proves the Pax was not given on Good Friday.

3. The following are the points in which all early Liturgies are agreed, differing from each other only in their order and in the language in which they are expressed: the reading of Scripture, the prayer of the faithful, the kiss of peace, the Preface preceded by the "Sursum corda" and followed by the "Sanctus," the commemoration by the celebrant of the living and the dead, the recital of the institution of the Holy Eucharist with the words of consecration, the commemoration of our Lord's passion and death, the "Pater noster," the Communion with its preparation and thanksgiving.

4. All but one of these features of the Liturgy are preserved in the Roman Mass of to-day—the prayer of the faithful being found only in the Mass of the Presanctified. As to its contents, therefore, our present Mass is of Apostolic origin.

5. The general arrangement and structure of the Roman Mass, and even some of its language, can be traced with a high degree of probability to St. Clement, and even to St. Peter.

6. The Canon of the Mass must have undergone changes of uncertain extent during the first two centuries after Apostolic times. By the beginning of the fourth century it must have existed in very nearly its present shape (pseudo-Ambrose); and the few alterations which St. Gregory the Great made in it, left it, fourteen hundred years ago, the same as we have it now.

It may appear strange to some of my readers that I have made no attempt to show the decisive bearing of the facts and inferences I have brought forward on the controversies which have been raised concerning the Holy Sacrifice since the sixteenth century. A sentence of the great liturgiologist, Renaudot, which Mr. Hammond has very justly chosen as the motto for his book, will best express my reason for thinking it utterly vain to point a controversial moral: "Hence shines out clearly that likeness of prayers and rites which confirms the ancient doctrine of the whole Church concerning the Eucharist." Those who cannot see for themselves that all ancient Liturgies, orthodox and heretical, are based upon the sacrificial character of the Holy Eucharist, and our Lord's Real Presence therein, are beyond the reach of arguments from liturgical details. But there is still stronger reason for silence. In studying the history of the Mass, we find ourselves, as it were, in some ancient, vast, cathedral, where the Holy Sacrifice has been offered since the day of Pentecost. It would be unendurable that the discordant murmurs of unbelief and doubt should be allowed to break in upon the hymns of thanksgiving and praise, which the Church has unceasingly offered with that Sacrifice on the altar on high before the throne of God.

J. R. GASQUET.

ART. VI.—CATHOLICS AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

1. *L'Église et la Jeunesse Ouvrière*. Par M. L'ABBÉ SECRETAIN. Paris : Chernovitz. 1889.
2. *Thirty-seventh Report of the Department of Science and Art*. H.M. Stationery Office. 1890.

THE universal insubordination of the working classes is undoubtedly the most formidable problem confronting society at the present day. The growing discontent with what must always be the condition of the majority of mankind, tends to assume the dimensions of a general revolt against the primeval curse of Adam. Religion and civilisation are alike threatened by the movement ; the former by the spirit of rationalism which accompanies and promotes it, the latter by the implied obliteration of those finer gradations of the social hierarchy which are at once the cause and result of progress. Education, as heretofore understood, is but a new ferment of disorder, and the mutinous masses, strong in the double power of knowledge and numbers, will soon, in the absence of some powerful counteracting influence, destroy the complex structure of the present order of things.

The dissatisfaction of the working man with his lot is due in great measure to the false direction of popular instruction, in cultivating faculties which find no exercise in his avocations. Partial mental culture is in most cases a curse to a man whose life must be spent in performing the functions of a living automaton, and the stimulus to the brain becomes an incentive to excess in the craving for excitement engendered in the vacant mind. The hundred-handed steam-engine has undoubtedly degraded labour by reducing it to the monotonous imitation of its own mechanical movements. The object of modern educational reform is at once to render his daily task less distasteful to the workman, by giving him a comprehension of the scientific principles that underly it, and to enable him, if sufficiently intelligent, to rise to the higher walks of his calling, assuming the superintendence and direction of others. The disregard of manual training in the educational scheme also tends to bring hand labour into disrepute as worthy only of the illiterate, and leads to the prevalent overcrowding of the trades and professions, and evergrowing concentration of population in the urban centres.

To reform this false view of life and re-invest manual labour with the dignity properly appertaining to it, while reconciling the workman to his task by extending his knowledge of its scien-

tific basis, is the aim of those who now seek to give popular instruction a more practical and less exclusively literary direction. From a purely commercial point of view the change is no less urgent. The wealth of a country can be shown to be directly dependent on the technical skill of its workmen, and in the present cosmopolitan competition for trade none can afford to neglect such an element of success. It is the appreciation of this truth by the Germans which has enabled them, by the superior technical training of their trading and working classes, to counteract England's natural advantages in mineral wealth. The value of raw material is but a small fraction of that of manufactured articles, the increment being solely due to the greater or less degree of skill with which it is manipulated. Beauty of design, delicacy of texture, fineness of surface, are the qualities which tend to enhance price, and these are incommunicable by any purely mechanical process. In such details of ornamental finish French products have been always held so greatly to excel that the bare name is accounted a guarantee of elegance and taste. The foreign policy of this country is mainly directed to securing outlets abroad for its manifold industries, but the like attention bestowed on the practical training of its people at home would be a no less efficacious means to the same end.

The nation [says Mr. Charles Ham, of Chicago] that applies to labour the most thought, the most intelligence (*i.e.*, that best expresses its thought in concrete form), will rise highest in the scale of civilisation, will gain most in wealth, will most survive the shocks of time, will live longest in history.*

The whole fabric of national prosperity is reared, in fact, on the toil of the masses, and in proportion as the latter is efficient or nugatory so will the former wax or wane. The mental equipment of the workman for his task is therefore no less a question of State policy, from its intimate connection with public well-being, than of philanthropy, from its effect in ameliorating the lot of the individual workman himself.

Industrial education consists of two distinct branches, a lower and a higher. The former, styled Manual Training, consists of the drilling of the rank and file of the army of industry in the use of the hand itself and of its adjuncts, the tools and implements of trade; the latter, Technical Education properly so called, is the form of teaching required for the captains of labour, manufacturers and foremen, designers and superintendents of works. It comprises theory as well as practice, and is defined as art and science applied to industry.

* "*Manual Training.*" By Charles H. Ham. London: Blackie & Sons. 1886.

The callings in which such preliminary training is especially required are classified under four headings. (1) Handicrafts, such as carpentering, cabinet making, tailoring, plumbing, boot-making, and others innumerable, requiring the practised use of tools, and more or less of mechanical skill in their manipulation. (2) Manufactures in which machinery is employed, iron or steel works, for example, engine factories, textile industries, and chemical trades. (3) Art industries, comprising wood and stone carving, metal work, jewellery, designing for manufactures, and decorative work generally. (4) Agriculture in all its branches, requiring both practical and scientific knowledge. Many of these classes, however, dovetail into each other, design being necessary for textile fabrics, and mechanical drawing for machine construction. Many handicrafts again are gradually passing into the domain of manufacture, as that of boot-making, in which hand-work is now largely replaced by that of machinery. In all these departments, manual training in drawing and the use of tools is the foundation of the knowledge required.

Two changes in the conditions of industry have revolutionised the workman's position, and rendered his preliminary schooling especially necessary. The first is the gradual disappearance of apprenticeship, the old-fashioned curriculum of skilled labour. Its capabilities as a training system had their most illustrious development in the schools of the great Italian painters, in which a band of intelligent disciples co-operated with the master in the production of his work. Taken altogether, with its homely influences and transmission of traditional method, it came nearer to the ideal of industrial training than anything that seems likely to take its place.

The second change in the aspect of many forms of labour, rendering their habitual performance rather a stultifying than an educational process, is their distribution, or, as the French say, *parcellement*, in minutely sub-divided portions among a number of hands. In the actual factory each workman learns only a small fraction of the entire process he is engaged on, and may never see the article he helps to produce in its completed form. Thus reduced to the functions of a self-acting automaton, in whom the superfluous faculties of brain and mind are kept in abeyance, he can only be awakened to some pleasurable sense of creative usefulness in his work by previously acquired knowledge of its general relation to its fundamental art or science. The restriction of his powers renders him moreover incapable of rising to the higher branches of his career, and employers declare that they are dependent for a supply of intelligent foremen on the technical schools in which they are specially trained. M. Tolain, in reporting to the French Senate on the law for the creation

of normal schools of apprenticeship, known as the law of December 11, 1880, dwelt on this aspect of the question as follows :

The value of the workman's labour in France is diminishing, because the intellectual value of the workman himself tends to decline. Machinery more and more takes the place of the workman. Such workmen as are still employed are more and more specialised and restricted to minute processes, which are no longer a trade, but a fragment of a trade. There are continually fewer artisans and more hand-workers. The remedy is to give to the children of workmen an education capable of awakening in them the feeling which formerly prevailed among artisans : first to develop their intelligence, and then to increase their technical knowledge, so that they may be able to pass at need from one industrial specialty to another, to understand their trade as a whole and in its details, and sometimes even to improve its processes.

Similar views were expressed in reference to the foundation of an industrial school at Riga, in 1873, by the local *Gewerbe-Verein* or Trade Union. The institution was established, according to the declaration of its promoters, with a view to remedying the gradual lowering of the moral level of artisans, and the falling off in the quality of almost all industrial productions, chiefly due to the abolition of obligatory membership of trade guilds.

We have here a recognition of the fact, underlying all social problems, that the training of the artisan, even for the practical end of his complete technical evolution, is a moral no less than an educational question. Mere manual dexterity, if unaccompanied by any guiding principle of conduct, will be counteracted by defects of character, such as idleness or intemperance, which will destroy his usefulness even as a mere tool in his trade. Secular education, as the experience of the present generation teaches, has no effect in checking evil tendencies. In France and Italy where it is leavened with positive infidelity, it tends rather, as statistics show, to the increase of depravity, and in the United States, is so far from checking it, that the ratio of crime to population has there doubled since 1850. The modern world is making painful experience of the truth that no social problem can be solved without the assistance of religion, and that the godless artisan, however highly trained in other directions, is the stumbling-block rather than the prop of the mercantile community. The present tendency to concentrate all educational administration in the hands of the State argues a misconception of the proper functions of the latter, and if allowed to dominate industrial training, will do much to nullify its benefits. It is essentially a matter for the control of local bodies, and has always prospered best when under the care of religious organisations in Catholic communities.

In England, which has until recently been backward in promoting it, a systematised method is still wanting to the efforts being made on its behalf. Three separate bodies, with intersecting spheres of authority, the Department of Science and Art, the School Board, and the Charity Commissioners, have each a share in its direction. The first of these institutions owes its origin to the Great Exhibition of 1851, when the necessity for technical education in this country was shown by the inferiority of its products in finish and delicacy to those of others. The then existing machinery for art culture consisted of a Government School of Design, opened at Somerset House in 1837, in receipt of an annual grant of £15,000, with seventeen similar schools in the provinces, to which the endowment had been extended four years later. The Council governing this institution was replaced in 1852 by the newly created Department of Practical Art, which, by the addition of a Science Division in the following year, became the combined department of South Kensington. With it were amalgamated the Government School of Mines, the Geological Survey, and various other scientific bodies. The object of the grants was declared to be the extension of "a knowledge of the arts, and of the principles of design among the people (especially the manufacturing population) of this country," and "to extend a system of encouragement to local institutions for Practical Science."

In the sphere of art it has given a great extension to the teaching of drawing throughout the country by a system of subsidies, in the shape of grants and free scholarships, to elementary schools and local classes. The amount of its work in this direction may be estimated by the figures of its growth. The number of students in Schools of Design, amounting before the creation of the Department to but 6997, had increased in 1857 to 12,905, in addition to 43,212 pupils in elementary schools receiving instruction in drawing. In 1888-9, again, the students in schools and classes of art numbered 74,701, besides 11,039 students in science classes sending up art works, and 875,263 learning drawing in elementary schools, making a total of close upon a million receiving some form of artistic teaching. More advanced instruction is given in the National Art Training School at South Kensington, which gives free scholarships with maintenance allowances to students on proof of proficiency. Of these there were in 1887-8, 138, 32 being women, while the number of paying students was 429, and 33 were being allowed half fees.

The Normal School of Science and Royal School of Mines, the central scientific institution under the Department, had at first but a very indifferent success. Down to 1862 the average

number of matriculated students had been but 12, and of occasional students only 54, per annum, while the average of those who found subsequent employment in mineral and metal works, or on the Geological Survey, was less than four. After its removal to South Kensington in 1862, however, its popularity largely increased, and since its reorganisation in 1881, the applications for admission have been in excess of the accommodation. It has a three years' course, which in the first year is the same for all ; in the second, is divided into two classes for physical and biological science ; and in the third into eight—viz., Mechanics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geology, Agriculture, Metallurgy, and Mining. The fees range from £1 to £13 a term for single subjects, the full course costing £75 per annum for the first two years, and £30 to £40 for the third. A limited number of those qualifying for teachers are admitted gratuitously, with maintenance allowances, and there are also free scholarships and studentships. The number of students in 1886-7 was 267, of whom 122 were non-paying. Three courses of evening lectures for working men, on Geology, Mechanics, and Metallurgy, are also delivered during the session, at a nominal fee of 6*d.* the course, and these are attended by hundreds.

Grants to local teaching bodies are given on the demand of a committee of responsible persons, in twenty-five scientific subjects bearing on the arts and manufactures. Payment by results, and assistance towards building or equipment of libraries or laboratories, are the forms in which the grant is bestowed on schools ; to individuals it is given as the reward of proficiency, in the shape of prizes, scholarships, or studentships. Money aid, however, is restricted to sons of families with an income of less than £200 a year. The number of subsidised science schools in 1887 was 1634, with 6300 classes and 103,038 students, and in the May examination of that year, 67,620 were examined, with a percentage of 30·86 of failures. The pecuniary aid to science under the Department amounted, in 1887, to £94,450, against £82,470 for the previous year, the corresponding figures for art being £83,059, and £86,665. The total grant to the dual Department for 1890 was £462,957.

Despite the undoubtedly admirable character of the results thus achieved, the efficiency of the teaching under the South Kensington Board has been marred by its adoption, since 1859, of the system of payment by results. This test of efficiency leads to the sacrifice of the pupil's interest to the necessity of grant-earning, as his education, entirely directed to that end, is rendered almost useless to himself. Thus a technical school at the examination in May 1880, sent up one boy who passed in nineteen science subjects, three in eighteen, and several in seventeen and

sixteen. The attention of the pupil is in such cases scattered over a wide range of studies, of which only the most perfunctory knowledge can be acquired, instead of being concentrated on the one or two branches of learning necessary for his future.

Next in importance to the great national machinery for technical education confided to the Science and Art Department, comes that more recently created by the City and Guilds of London Institute. This voluntary association was constituted in 1878 by a number of the principal Livery Companies, with a view to providing practical training in mechanics and science. The teaching apparatus organised by it consists of four institutions: (1) The Central Institution in Exhibition Road, built at a cost of £100,000, and opened in 1885, to form a Technical University with a complete three years' course of practical science, costing £25 a year; (2) The Finsbury Technical College in Leonard Street, an affiliated institution, built at a cost of £36,000, and opened in 1883, to serve as a model trade school for artisans and others entering industrial works; (3) The South London School of Technical Art, started in 1879, in the Kennington Park Road, to give instruction in all forms of decorative art; (4) a system of technological examination, open to students from all parts of the kingdom, with payment to teachers by results.

The first of these schools was attended in 1887-8 by 431 students, and its summer courses on various practical subjects, such as carpentry, masonry, bread-making, held in the month of July, by 175, of whom 81 were teachers. The Finsbury College, with a first-rate teaching staff, has in its day-school about 170 lads of from fifteen to seventeen years of age, of whom the larger number are studying electrical engineering. Its evening classes which, in addition to more scientific subjects, have a department for trade lessons in cabinet-making, plumbing, carpentry, bricklaying, &c., are attended by about 1000 students.

The South London School has about 140 students, attending classes nearly all held in the evening, in modelling, design, house-decoration, china-painting, wood-engraving, and other artistic trades. It is said to have considerable influence on these trades in the neighbourhood, and many of its pupils have gained a high position in artistic handicrafts.

The examining department of the City and Guilds Institute has on its books 505 registered classes, with 11,734 students in 133 towns of the United Kingdom, and at the examinations in May 1888, 6166 candidates presented themselves, of whom 3512 were passed. The civic association has thus, through its various branches, brought excellent scientific training within reach of a considerable section of the working population.

We come next to an institution which, though the creation of

a private individual, takes rank, as regards its work in the metropolis, after the two principal public organisations for practical teaching. The London Polytechnic Institute in Regent Street, founded and maintained by Mr. Quintin Hogg at an annual cost of £6000 to £7000 over receipts, is a combination of a club and a school, comprising both recreative and educational resources. In the former department it has a gymnasium, swimming-bath, well supplied reading-room and library; in the latter, classes for boys and girls, frequented by 3000 students, nearly all engaged in daily toil. The fees to members for attendance vary from 2s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. a quarter, and they are open to outsiders at a somewhat higher rate. Practical instruction is given in various trades, such as carriage-building, cabinet-making, upholstery, wood and stone-carving, printing, watchmaking, and dressmaking, in addition to the more scientific avocations of building, engineering, and electrical engineering.

The Drapers' Company, having transferred its subscription from the City and Guilds Institute to the People's Palace in the Mile End Road, the latter combines classes in practical and technical subjects, with its other beneficent activities. Toynbee Hall, in Whitechapel, one of the many East-end charities organised and maintained by the Universities, also provides lectures and teaching in various practical arts. The Charity Commissioners have now initiated a movement for supplying the outlying districts of London with Polytechnics, combining recreation with instruction, like that in Regent Street, offering a sum of £150,000 to meet a like amount subscribed from local sources. Two such institutions, one in the Borough Road and the other at New Cross, with an endowment from the Goldsmiths' Company, are already in course of establishment in South London, and Kensington and Battersea have taken steps towards the provision of others. In addition to these resources for higher technical instruction, the experiment of workshop training is about to be tried in six of the London Board Schools, three north and three south of the Thames, the cost being defrayed by a grant of £1000 from the Drapers' Company.

The Technical Education Act of 1889, giving powers for levying a local rate towards it on a poll of the ratepayers, has given a great stimulus to the movement throughout the provinces. The Town Council of Manchester has recently (April 1890) appointed a committee for exercising these powers, and Sheffield, Rochdale, Stockport, Macclesfield, the County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Maidstone, Blaenau Festiniog, Rotherham, Wakefield, Bingley, New Mills, Bolton, Nottingham, Leeds, Birmingham, Newcastle, Blackburn, and Reading, are among the places that have taken steps to put the Act in force.

University and King's Colleges in London, as well as many of the provincial colleges and universities, have extensive courses of practical science. Owens College Manchester, Liverpool University College, and the Yorkshire College at Leeds, forming together Victoria University, combine to a certain extent the faculties of a German university with those of a technical school. The former has an extended course of practical science, and the latter a special school of dyeing and weaving. Birmingham, Newcastle, Sheffield, Nottingham, Cardiff, Clifton and Dundee are similarly provided, and Bradford is celebrated for its Technical College. Of the older Universities, Cambridge has always made science its specialty, and Professor Stuart has, at his own expense, within the last twelve or fourteen years added practical workshops to its laboratory system. Here about eighty students, three-fourths of them undergraduates, assist in the actual processes of manufacture, and forging and casting iron, machine construction, and other works are carried on. Another addition to the University, which shows that Cambridge is moving with the times, is Cavendish College, recently opened as a school of exclusively commercial education.

What is chiefly wanted in England, in order to give efficacy to the work of these organisations for advanced technical training, is that they should be co-ordinated and welded on to the general educational system of the country. The primary schools, except in drawing, have no preparation for, nor connecting link with, the higher courses of scientific teaching. The use of tools should if possible be taught in the elementary schools, so as to give practical familiarity with mechanical problems from an early age. This is at present rendered difficult by the regulation that such instruction must be given out of school hours, and efforts are being made by protests and remonstrances to have the rule rescinded.

This form of manual training is carried to the highest perfection, by a system of progressive classes, in the Imperial Technical School for Government engineers at Moscow, where it was introduced by Professor Victor Della-Vos in 1868. The same method has been adopted in Bohemia, and in the Manual Training Colleges, twelve in number, of the United States, notably those of Chicago and St. Louis. Turning and carving, forging and metal work are taught here in graded classes, the attempt to make them self-supporting being abandoned as detrimental to the schooling.

In a manual training school [says Mr. Woodward, director of that of St. Louis] everything is for the benefit of the boy. He is the only article to be put upon the market. We cannot afford to turn out anything else. Time and opportunity for growth are too pre-

cious. The moment a class has learned fairly well to make bolts and nuts, or to cut and solder a tin funnel, the boys must move on to master some new and unknown process, instead of stopping to make bolts and funnels for the market. *

This, however, is a counsel of perfection which cannot be followed when ways and means have to be too closely considered. One of the arguments against this utilitarian training, that it diverts the mind from book-learning, is negatively answered by the writer. The development of constructiveness rather assists that of the other faculties, and the alternate exercise of the different powers of the brain acts as a stimulus to all. The pleasure the boys take in their manual tasks proves them to be the healthiest form of relaxation from the more purely mental exercises, and the severest punishment for want of diligence in the latter is found to be exclusion from the former. On one occasion when Mr. Woodward's pupils had begged a general holiday, they added the request that it might be spent in the workshop, evidently considering their occupations there the best form of play.

The Swedish method of hand-culture called *slöjd*, consists entirely of turning and carving wood, and the articles produced are intended either for sale or for home use. It is, however, a form of training whose utility in after life would be comparatively limited.

Manual training occupies in France a conspicuous place in the programme of national education, and pupils in the primary schools who show special aptitude, receive more advanced technical instruction gratuitously by means of scholarships in special institutions. Apprenticeship schools for various trades exist, too, in large numbers, the *École Diderot* in Paris being the typical one. This establishment, founded at a cost of £16,000, and maintained at an annual charge of £6000, has 830 pupils, of whom about eighty complete the three years' course, to qualify as mechanics, smiths, joiners, &c. A higher class of teaching is imparted by "the Sorbonne of Industry," as the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*, with its lectures, classes, and splendid museum, is called. Five Government schools at Châlons, Lille, Nevers, Aix, and Angers, for training skilled foremen, engineers, and mechanicians, have a three years' course, limited to 300 students, of whom half are free, and half pay about £30 a year. The splendid *École Centrale*, in Paris, with its almost unrivalled chemical laboratories, stands on a different footing, as it is self-supporting. Here almost all French engineers not in the service of the Government are

* "The Manual Training School." By C. M. Woodward, A.B. Boston: Heath & Co. 1887.

trained. The local industrial centres have also their technical colleges, such as the *École Centrale* at Lyons, *École des Mineurs* at St. Etienne, and *Institut du Nord* at Lille. Many private mercantile establishments, such as the printing house of *Chaix et Cie*, and the *Creuzot Ironworks*, owned by *M. Schneider*, have training schools for their workmen, and find it commercially advantageous, as they generally remain in their employment. There is thus in France a more completely graduated course of manual and technical training than in England, where the elementary schools give little of this class of instruction, and the gap between them and the higher scientific courses is not bridged by any intermediate stage.

In Germany there is a still more completely organised system, with a gradually ascending course of training. The *Ohne Latein Realschulen* are devoted to practical as opposed to classical and literary education, while trades are taught in the *Gewerbeschulen* and *Fachschulen*, and the higher scientific training is imparted in splendidly equipped polytechnics, which are universities of industrial teaching. Utilitarian education in its earlier stages, is, too, much more highly specialised than in this country, as a boy's future career is decided on at thirteen, and all subsequent teaching given in the trade school of his particular branch. The scientific basis of his profession, if he be intended for its higher walks, he learns at a polytechnic, such as is to be found in every capital, and with which Germany is indeed provided in excess of its population. No expense has been spared in their equipment, and to their chemical laboratories in particular, Sir Philip Magnus says, Germany "owes much of the success of her manufacturing industry." The first cost of [their erection is estimated at not less than three million sterling, and they are maintained at an annual outlay of a quarter of a million.

The Munich Polytechnic represents a capital sum of £200,000, and a yearly expenditure of £20,000, while that of Berlin was completed in 1884 at a cost of £200,000. The specialisation of teaching characteristic of the German system is exemplified in that of the former institution. With a student roll, which in 1887-8 numbered over 700, the programme comprises 196 courses of lectures, assigned to 36 professors and 34 teachers, besides assistants; while in the engineering school alone there are 45 separate courses.

The Bavarian capital is equally well supplied with artistic teaching. Its Art School furnishes means of instruction in every form of decorative industry, and in the ceramic and glass-staining departments students are enabled to work in the materials from their own designs. Art is honoured even in the externals of its habitation, and the *Kunstgewerbeschulen* of Munich, Nurem-

berg, Dresden, Berlin, and Vienna, are lodged in palaces, often decorated by the students themselves. The efficiency of the musical training supplied in Germany is so notorious, that we need only mention the Conservatoires of Leipzig, Dresden, Munich, Stuttgart, and Vienna, as illustrations of the system of art-culture prevailing there.

On that system as applied to industry, much light is thrown by the valuable Report of Mr. Gilbert Redgrave, appended to that of the Science and Art Department for the current year, and recording his impressions of the exhibition of school work, held in the Gewerbehalle of Stuttgart, in honour of the Silver Jubilee of King Charles of Württemberg, from July 25 to August 25, 1889. It consisted of the works of what are termed trade continuation schools, and participation in it was compulsory on the part of those receiving State aid, but voluntary on that of others. The works of teachers, and those executed by apprentices as qualifications for an official diploma, were separately classified, and the exhibits were intended in all cases to represent the general average of production, not the result of exceptional pains or time expended for the occasion.

The Trade Continuation Schools, here represented to the number of 183, are intended to supplement the training bestowed in elementary schools, by classes held in the evening and during two hours on Sunday morning. Attendance is voluntary, and a trifling fee is charged. The course is directed to giving such practical development to drawing and modelling as to render them industrially available, but also comprises arithmetic, book-keeping, and other mercantile subjects, classed as science instruction. Three points particularly struck Mr. Redgrave. The first of these was the influence of local industries on the character of the exhibits, which showed a preponderance of mechanical and engineering drawing in those from the manufacturing centres, and of designs for jewellery and pottery from the districts where those arts prevail. The second noticeable feature was the dependence of the quality of the work on the ability of the teacher, the impress of the school being stronger than that of the individual. The third distinctive peculiarity was the immediate connection established between the manufacturer and the art, by the fact that the instructor had almost invariably learned its practical application as draughtsman or designer in a factory. The absence of this species of apprenticeship in England implies a want of touch between the art and industry of the country.

I can scarcely dwell too strongly [says the Report] on this feature of the instruction in art handicrafts in these German trade schools. On looking over the portfolios of designs sent by the

teachers, I found that many were among the leading designers of the country for art work of every kind—architecture, decoration, stained-glass, textiles, metal work, and pottery. Certain of these teachers contributed to the exhibition very fine specimens of their own handiwork in various branches of art, and the drawings, designs, and photographs of executed works contributed by these fifty-eight teachers amounted to many thousands in number, and clearly proved their influence on the art productions of Würtemberg.

The interest taken by local committees in the schools and their management also struck him as much greater than that shown in this country.

They find [he writes] half the cost of maintaining them, and feel that the prosperity of their town and their own local success depend, to a considerable extent, upon the efficiency of the continuation school, where their sons and their best workmen are being trained.

He instances, by way of illustration, Gmünden, a little town at the foot of the Hohenstaufen Mountains, with 15,000 inhabitants, and a thriving trade in jewellery and decorative metal work. The school, which is the nurse of its industry, employs thirteen trained teachers, and has within a few years increased the number of its pupils from 150 to 444, or nearly 3 per 1000 of its population. It possesses, moreover, a good art library and museum, to the latter of which Herr Erhard, a leading manufacturer, intends to add his valuable collection of objects bearing on local history during the last 400 years. These include a splendid series of the works of Hans Baldung Grün, a native of this Suabian town.

In Würtemberg, as elsewhere in Germany, the multiplication of branches of study to suit individual requirements is noticed as a prevailing feature. The central school of Stuttgart, with 1217 students, has as many as 60 teachers, many of them giving classes in several sub-divisions of their subjects, while drawing is so specialised that there are separate courses for gardeners, locksmiths, and sign-board painters. The Art Trade School, with 108 students, and 10 masters, is pre-eminently a school of applied art, and decorative work, chiefly in relief, is the most prominent subject of its three years' course.

The continuation schools for girls are fifteen in number, with 73 teachers, and 676 learners, but there are in addition sixteen women's work schools, with 1594 pupils, under 25 masters and 73 mistresses. Here young ladies often complete their education by a year's course of instruction in fancy work and dress-making.

The Stuttgart Exhibition included in a separate category the work of apprentices subjected for judgment to committees of experts. This voluntary test system is, to some extent, a revival of the old trade usage, requiring every aspirant to the rank of

master-craftsman to produce a diploma work as qualification. Trades to the number of fifty were represented, carpenters most numerous (141), followed by locksmiths (126), shoemakers (74), and tailors (65). Thus the fellowship between the useful and the ornamental handicrafts was maintained within the walls of the exhibition as it is out of doors.

The small cost of the trade continuation schools, and the contribution of one-half by the State, enable even village communities to establish them at a yearly outlay of £10, the use of the elementary school-room being given when otherwise unoccupied, on weekday evenings and Sunday forenoons.

The German organisation of technical training prevails also in Switzerland, and the federal Polytechnic of Zurich ranks as one of the best on the Continent. Here scientific education of a high class can be had for £4 a year, in all branches except chemistry, which costs £12. Italy has three superior technical institutes at Turin, Milan, and Naples; Holland one at Delft, open since 1864, with a three years' course, costing £16 per annum. The tailors' school at Brussels, with a four years' course, attended by an average of thirty pupils, is an example of a high class trade school. It costs £450 per annum, of which the city contributes £120. The funds by which technical schools are supported on the Continent, are generally supplied by municipalities, Chambers of Commerce, trade associations, or other local bodies.

The necessity for their creation, like that for so many other forms of social reconstruction, has arisen in a great measure from the suppression of the monastic orders, the founders and fosterers of the culture of industry. From the monasteries, reviled as abodes of idleness by the modern world, went forth the creative impulse that revived art, and in their peaceful cloisters alone was found an atmosphere sufficiently calm to shelter its infancy and stimulate its progress. The first master-builders of mediæval Europe, were the monks of Como, who covered it during their wanderings with its earliest cathedrals. From architecture, developed by religion, sprang all the other arts as its handmaids and auxiliaries. The monasteries were still their nurseries, and the monks their professors. In the illuminated scrolls and manuscripts wrought by their hands, existed the germ of modern painting, developed in stages traceable in gradual evolution of type. Even the drama, at the present day so paganised, had an ecclesiastical origin in the mysteries and miracle plays introduced as adjuncts to worship. Calligraphy, as an art, became extinct with the monastic spirit, and the rude script now in general use is, in comparison, but like the scribbling of children or savages.

Nor were the monasteries less influential as schools of the more

homely arts, on which so much of the comfort and even of the happiness of daily life depends. So thoroughly was this recognised as part of their functions that Charlemagne made it matter of legislative prescription. He decreed that every monastery should have an industrial school attached, and himself wore garments made in the one attended by his own children. The ground plans of the great abbeys show them, as the Abbé Secretain points out in the Introduction to his work, to have been the technical colleges of their day, in which every branch of practical science then known was taught.

That of St. Gall [he says] dating from 810, may serve as an example. We find there workshops for shoemakers, harness-makers, armourers, shieldmakers, turners, curriers, goldsmiths, locksmiths, fullers; beside these the schools with their dormitories, and further off, nearer to the stables and outhouses, quarters for the grooms and shepherds, the swineherds, coopers, neat herds, &c. Nothing could come up to the solicitude of the Cistercians for the labouring classes, and it is in the abbeys of this order that the most perfect organisation of manual labour is found. In a word, almost all the generations of working men at this epoch were moulded by the religious of Citeaux. The trade corporations came forth from the monastic professional schools.

With the secularisation of the monasteries their traditions of labour education passed away, for the parish clergy could only partially combine with their spiritual ministry the utilitarian functions fulfilled by the monks. The latter were the great instructors of the working classes, and the effect of their civilising influence in permeating the lower strata of society is only appreciated when the results of its absence are seen. Even in this later age, which boasts that it has outgrown monastic teaching, a new Order has come into existence, whose utility in its special sphere of industrial training is acknowledged by men of all creeds alike. The venerable Abbé de la Salle, the founder of the Schools of the Christian Brothers, was the pioneer of technical education, in which he divined the great want of the coming age. The fundamental axiom, that "the unity of science governs the multiplicity of its applications," was enunciated by him as the basis of the teaching in his central school of arts and manufactures. This maxim, then new, but now of universal acceptance, means that metallurgy, carving or moulding wood, stone, or iron, and the artistic handicrafts generally, have a groundwork of elementary knowledge common to all.

In order to give practical effect to this principle, he opened, first at St. Sulpice, and afterwards at Saint Yon, at Rouen, schools intended as preparatory to apprenticeship to the various trades.

Pupils of twelve, and even eleven years old [writes the Abbé Secretain], learned not alone in books, but in practice, how fire softens metals, how cold water, on the contrary, tempers and hardens them. They were shown in what manner lime is slaked, and how cement hardens. They know what a lathe is, and all that may be done with it, and how a simple tenon and mortice are made. The Abbé de la Salle had thus arrived at demonstrating the further axiom "that the school may be a consecutive and methodical series of stages, rendering it possible by the study of general technology, and by the practice of certain branches of industry, to shorten the term of apprenticeship, and to encounter with more confidence the difficulties of the workshop."

It even becomes rapidly a school of manual perfection. In fact, the locksmith's, sculptor's, and turner's work of the chapel and other constructions erected at Saint Yon were, before 1789, all executed in the establishment. Saint Yon has now been replaced by Saint Nicolas.

The justly celebrated institution of the Rue Vaugirard, in Paris, now under the charge of the Christian Brothers, one of the first apprenticeship schools, if not the very first of our century, was founded in 1827, by the Abbé Bervanger, an ecclesiastic of Lorraine, who transferred to it all his property. It is universally acknowledged to be a model industrial school, with which much more highly endowed secular establishments seek to compete in vain. Its 1200 pupils have open to them a choice of fifteen different trades, and may become bookbinders, lens-grinders, compositors, printers, workers in bronze, metal engravers, makers of wooden and brass musical instruments, joiners, saddlers, trunk-makers, wood carvers, wood engravers, mathematical instrument makers, map engravers, or mechanicians.

The admirable training bestowed on them enables them to earn good wages immediately on leaving the institution, seldom less than from four to five francs a day, even when the general standard is low, and often as much as from six to seven. The artistic handicrafts are still more highly paid, and we read of engravers receiving fifteen francs a day within two months of the completion of their course, and of wood engravers whose wages rise as high as twenty-eight francs. The work produced by the school has a high reputation, and a carved mantel-piece exhibited in London was valued at 4000 francs, while a book-case from the Rue Vaugirard was the admiration of visitors to the Parisian Palace of Industry in 1889.

The order is equally successful if tried by the test of competitive examination. Of sixty-seven apprentice mechanicians who passed in 1888 for the School of Brest, at the five French naval ports, sixteen were the pupils of the Brothers, and not only were the three highest places gained by their schools at Capestan, Brest,

and Quimper, but with the exception of the fourth, taken by a student of the High School at Mirepoix, all the high numbers up to fourteen were carried off by their schools.*

These results are achieved, not only by the unwearied personal zeal and devotion of the members of the order, but by traditional methods of teaching handed down by its founders and scrupulously adhered to. They have many establishments in the United Kingdom, and the one at Artane, near Dublin, is not less admirable than that of the Rue Vaugirard, though intended for a lower class of pupils.

Nor is this the only order which gives high-class industrial training. The silent monks of La Trappe, amid the rigours of their penance, are the pioneers of agriculture in the desert, and their patient toil wrings valuable products from wastes too forbidding for the ordinary settler. In Algeria, on the edge of the Sahara, they have introduced flower-farming and the manufacture of perfumes. In the neighbourhood of Rome, they have undertaken the reclamation of the Campagna, and by the introduction of the Australian eucalyptus have rendered portions of its fever-stricken tract habitable and productive. Among the Natal Kaffirs they have established a great industrial colony at Mariannhill, where, on their arrival in 1882, there was neither house nor homestead, and their waggon was their only shelter. This establishment and its dependencies have now 70,000 acres under cultivation in Natal and Griqualand, while sixteen miles of road, ten stone bridges, and a magnificent system of waterworks, comprising five tanks and 7000 feet of pipes, are among the other trophies of their industry. Their various undertakings, described in detail in *Illustrated Catholic Missions* for March 1890, include a great bakery, supplying 600 people on the spot besides the bread sold, a printing-office, in which papers are published in four languages, a photographic studio, forges, mills, and workshops for carpentry and waggon-making. Paper manufactured from native grasses, and bee culture, for which Italian queens have been introduced to improve the African variety, are among their other specialties.

An equally thriving settlement is that of the Benedictines in Western Australia, where their convent of New Nursia has shown the possibility of civilising the intractable savages of the southern continent. The same experiment is being tried with like success in regard to the natives of East Africa by the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, at Bagamoyo, south of Zanzibar, where a Christian community, practising a variety of trades and handicrafts, has sprung up under their auspices. It may indeed be said that the problem of the future of Africa can only be grappled with by the

* *Journal Officiel*, December 9, 1888.

religious Orders, which we may, at no distant day, see regain there much of the influence and authority withdrawn from them in the older society of Europe.

Even here, however, there is a movement on the part of some Catholics to try and recover for their Church her original position at the head of industrial as of all other education. The Abbé Secretain formulates, for his own country, a complete scheme of manual and technical training, recommending the introduction of the first by instruction in drawing and the use of tools into Catholic primary schools, and proposing to provide machinery for the second, either by the creation of a Conservatory of Arts and Trades, or by the addition of technical courses to the existing Universities. The formation of a Catholic trade school at Lille is already in contemplation, and the experiment might, if successful, form an introduction to the larger scheme.

In England the numerical inferiority of Catholics makes it obviously impossible for them to compete with the great national schools of advanced technical education enumerated above, with costly machinery kept in motion by a large expenditure of public money. But in the elementary schools instruction in drawing, and, where possible, in the use of tools, should undoubtedly be added to the course. In Manchester and Salford, not only has the former branch of training already been introduced into all the Catholic schools, but the promotion of higher artistic education, by the foundation of a special institution under Catholic auspices, is proposed as well. Premises have already been secured for workshops and class-rooms, a library and museum, in the neighbourhood of the Manchester School of Art, and of the proposed Whitworth Museums, so that their resources will be thus rendered available for students. It is also in contemplation to create, in connection with the new institution, a society to be called the Christian Art and Crafts Guild, in order to enlist volunteer assistance, either in the shape of money, from the subscriptions of not less than 5s. a year from honorary members, or of personal co-operation from working members, who may give their services as teachers, lecturers, inspectors, accountants, or librarians.

A special field for Christian art exists in the Church itself, whose requirements must always create a large demand for ecclesiastical decorative work of all kinds. The influence of members might be used to secure the patronage of churches and convents for the schools, and so help to render them self-supporting. At the same time, there is no desire to limit its scope to the supply of this special market alone, or to exclude it from competing for orders from the trade in general. The idea of its promoters is that in addition to its local usefulness, it may serve as an

example of what might be done in other places in the direction of technical education under the guidance of the Church, and in furtherance of this larger aim it would have a claim on the support of the Catholic community at large.

At the present day, when the mass of ignorance and vice around us seems to grow with our added knowledge of it, there can be no nobler work than any attempt to lessen it by elevating the lives of the working classes. For their material sufferings there is no radical cure save in such a system of training as gives increased value to their labour. The cultivation of drawing is, where natural talent exists, a high road to fortune. There are designers of upholstery in New York, who, according to Mr. MacArthur,* receive larger salaries than cabinet ministers, and the draughtsmen on the staff of Leslie's pictorial magazines receive \$150, or in some cases as much as \$250 per week. What may be done even by private individuals to help working-men forward in this way, may be exemplified by the case of a gentleman, himself a member of an artistic profession, who at one time devoted his evenings to giving gratuitous lessons in drawing to the sons of working men, many of whom came at the lapse of years to tell him how his instruction had helped their success in life.

But the knowledge of an art, apart even from its utilitarian advantages, confers a possibly greater, though less tangible, benefit on a working man, by giving wider horizons of interest and enjoyment to his life of toil. The additional faculties called into activity by the culture of hand and eye, or hand and ear, in the use of the pencil, or the practice of an instrument, react even on the moral nature, and may prove either an actual deterrent from crime, or an antidote to its debasing influences on the character. While only religion is a panacea for all the ills of society, art and industry, in a combination too long dissolved, are at least its most powerful auxiliaries in combating them.

Nor do the benefits derived from technical education cease with those it confers on the individual workman. Not only the nations, but still more markedly the smaller communities in which it thrives, flourish in proportion. Mechanical invention, dependent on practical acquaintance with tools and engines of industry, is among the largest factors of public wealth. Mr. Charles Ham, in his book on "Manual Training" † quotes the dictum of Lord Sheffield uttered more than a century ago, that Cort's improvements in iron (invention of the puddling process) and the steam-

* "Education in its Relation to Manual Industry." By Arthur MacArthur. New York: 1884.

† "Manual Training." By Charles H. Ham. London: Blackie & Son. 1886.

engine of James Watt, were of more value to Great Britain than the thirteen American colonies. These inventions were calculated in 1862 to have increased the wealth of England by six hundred million sterling.

Taking a lesser area for a similar illustration the writer adduces the advance of Sheffield, which "in 1715 contained 2000 inhabitants, of whom one-third were beggars," to be the chief seat of the steel manufacture of the world, in consequence of Benjamin Huntsman's discovery of the method of casting that metal.

The connection between local prosperity and industrial training is also easily demonstrable. The Power Loom Weaving School at Mulhouse, maintained by the manufacturers of the town, benefited the whole of Alsace, by enabling it to maintain the superiority of its textile fabrics. It has been replaced since 1871 by the Industrial School at Epinal. Limoges, whose name and existence were bound up with its celebrated enamels, fell into decay when this art declined, and only revived when the discovery of Kaolin in 1766 led to the introduction of the porcelain manufacture as a substitute. Such an impetus has recently been given to this industry by the teaching in the Art Schools, founded in 1862 by Adrien Dubouche, that the town has once more become a great centre of artistic production, and poverty and drunkenness are said to be banished from its streets. The school, now under State control, and called the *École Nationale d'Art Décoratif à Limoges*, is open free to boys over thirteen, and girls over twelve years of age.

The converse case of a community impoverished through lack of artistic training in its population, is strikingly exemplified by a single episode in the commercial history of the United States. Here industrial education had been so neglected, that until 1862, when an Act was passed for its extension, there were but four institutions devoted to it, and drawing, especially, may be said to have been, until within the last fifteen years, almost an unknown art. Consequently, when some ten or twelve years ago, a very choice table-service was ordered for the then President, the commission, though given to a New York firm, was executed, not in America, but at their establishment at Limoges, and every one employed in its manufacture was French, with the exception of the English draughtsman who made the design. Thus the countries where the arts are fostered by technical training may be said to lay those, where the reverse is the case, under a heavy annual tribute.

The general diffusion of received canons of taste tends at the present day to facilitate the removal of this inequality. The so-styled æsthetic movement, with its many affectations and absurd-

ities, has had one beneficial effect in creating a reaction against machine-made ornament, and thereby giving a strong impetus to the artistic handicrafts. The prophets of art have at last driven home the truth that, though the steam-giant must always hold the field in purely utilitarian production, it can never replace the trained hand and eye in work intended for ornamental purposes. Mind alone can act upon mind, and the craftsman's creative pleasure in his task is the ultimate source of the perceptive pleasure it transmits to others. Skilled labour is, by the extending recognition of this principle of taste, on the way to restoration to its true position as the handmaid of culture, and to deliverance from its enslavement to the performance of a series of automatic movements, deadening to the human faculties they leave in abeyance.

Mechanical invention at the present day has, on the other hand, tended to promote what may be called the scientific, as opposed to the artistic rehabilitation of labour. Theology, law, and medicine can no longer claim exclusive rank as the learned professions, since the science of the engineer, the electrician, the physicist, and all the modern avocations called into existence by new adaptations of the forces of the universe, require a training no less arduous and special. For this class of training, education on the old lines, the education of books and scholiasts, had no place. A new meaning must be given to the word to signify its new function in equipping the army of specialists now required in all these departments. Technical education, then, must and will be organised in all its stages, from the tool-bench of the elementary school to the university of the natural sciences and their multiform applications. The question for Catholics is, what will be their share in shaping and influencing a movement on which so much of the future depends? "Education," said Froebel, "is the generation of power," and to those who control it the guidance of that power will in a great measure accrue.

In addition to the practical advantages conferred by a general system of technical training on the community and on the individual, it has a third more indirect form of action for the benefit of society, in creating the atmosphere, or *milieu*, in French phrase, required for artistic production. Between artist and craftsman there is no essential distinction, and in the best periods of art their functions have been interchangeable. True art indeed can only exist as the apex of a pyramid broadening down to its foundation in the humblest forms of ornamentation. Nothing is too minute to be made its vehicle of expression; nothing too common to be transformed by the magic wand of its idealisations. The greatest craftsman of the Renaissance could turn from the fashioning of a salt-cellar to the casting of the Perseus; its greatest artist, from the poisoning of his mighty cupola in mid-air

to the invention of a new design for window-bars. Adaptation to purpose is the life-spring of artistic creation, which has its radical cause in the barbaric instinct of decoration. The frieze of the Parthenon, the frescoes of the Vatican, each crowned a great epoch with its consummate achievement, because designed as part of a scheme of architectural ornamentation. The great Italian altar-pieces were in like fashion designed each for the space it was to occupy, and as part of the scenic effect of its surroundings.

The nadir of art is reached when exhibition becomes the final cause of its existence, and canvases of arbitrary shape, size, and subject, are thrust into frames to form part of the monstrous mosaic of a modern gallery. The process of picture manufacture may be carried on under such conditions; but art, of which it usurps the name, has no share in it.

The prevailing indifference to appropriateness in the placing of studio pictures, is scarcely caricatured in the well-known story of the wealthy American in Florence in search of one to fill a space over the mantel-piece of his dining room. The subject of the only one which fulfilled the requisite conditions of size, "Herodias's daughter bearing the head of St. John," seemed a bar to its selection for such a position; but the discriminating patron of art did not allow himself to be balked by such a trifle. A few strokes of the artist's brush converted the grim trophy into a plum-pudding, and Salome smiled thenceforward on his board as the innocent harbinger of Christmas festivity.

Such incongruities could only be possible where art has no place in ordinary life, and the artistic sense is consequently wanting to the people at large. For the appreciative powers that go to form it cannot be made to grow from the upper stratum of society downwards, nor kept alive by the jargon of a clique that chooses to dub itself æsthetic. Its roots must be struck in the minds of the toiling masses, to whom the perception of beauty, even in nature, requires to be brought home by educating the faculties that take cognisance of it. We may not be able to reproduce such an age as that in which the marriage chest of every Tuscan peasant-bride was such an art treasure as to be an object of competition to modern museums; but we can at least, by widening and extending the sphere of taste, restore among the masses the power of appreciating, if not of imitating, such master-pieces of homely decoration. If we can make art common, we shall do much to make it great, and this result, with all the others attainable by the same means, can only be achieved by the extension of our industrial and technical training.

EDITORIAL.

ART. VII.—FATHER MATHEW'S CENTENARY.

JUST a hundred years ago, and almost to a day, October 10, 1790, Theobald Mathew, the subject of this memoir, was born in Thomastown House, county Tipperary. His father was James Mathew, a close relative of George Mathew, first Earl of Llandaff; his mother was Anne, daughter of James Whyte, of Cappa-Whyte, co. Tipperary. James Whyte had been adopted by his relative, and for a considerable time resided with the Earl at Thomastown House, but a few years after the birth of Theobald, he settled on the large farm of Rathcloheen, close by.

There were twelve children: nine boys and three girls, and Theobald was the fourth son. In disposition he greatly resembled his mother, from whose side he was seldom absent in his early years, and from her he received much of that sweetness of disposition for which, quite as much as for zeal and enthusiasm, he was distinguished in after years. Even at this early age his pleasure consisted in giving pleasure to others, and he was never so happy as when, through his influence with his parents, there was some treat being prepared for his brothers and sisters, or companions, or when he was made the medium for the distribution of his mother's charities to the poor. It was doubtless this amiable disposition which gave him such sway over those of his own standing; indeed, though three of his brothers were his seniors in age, yet Theobald exercised over all the influence and power of the eldest son, but as this power was always used gently and for a good purpose, and as Theobald was ever ready to help his brothers and sisters in their plans, and constantly procuring for them some unexpected pleasure, his influence was felt and submitted to without the slightest jealousy on the part of his elder brothers.

In his ninth year he had already expressed his intention of becoming a priest, and as he persevered in this resolution, he was sent, when twelve years of age, to a good school at Kilkenny, through the kindness of his relative, Lady Elizabeth Mathew. In this school, by constant application, he made great progress in his studies, and gained the esteem of his masters. One of his schoolfellows at Kilkenny, writing in these pages at a time when Theobald Mathew's name was well known through the three kingdoms, describes him at this period of his life as follows:

Incapable of anger or resentment, utterly free from selfishness, always anxious to share with others whatever he possessed, jealous of the affections of those to whom he was particularly attached, remarkably gentle in his manners, fond of expressing himself in smiles rather than in language, averse from the boisterous amusements to

which boys in general are prone, and preferring to them quiet walks by the banks of a river, by the side of green hedges, in company with two or three select associates, and yet very far from being of a pensive disposition—on the contrary, so cheerful that the slightest ludicrous occurrence turned the smile he generally wore into hearty laughter—he grew up esteemed by everybody who knew him. Even in his boyhood he seemed never to live for himself; and yet by not seeking it he exercised an influence upon those around him, which they never thought of questioning. Such was his character in his early days.

From Kilkenny he went to the seminary of Maynooth, but he remained there only a few months, for, yielding to his inclination of affording pleasure to those around him, he gave, one evening, a party in his room to his fellow-students, thereby committing a grave violation of the rules. It came to the notice of his superiors, and Theobald was put under censure; then, fearing that the matter might end in his being expelled, he resigned his place at once, and left the college. This was in 1808. He then came under the influence of Father Celestine Corcoran, Superior of the Capuchins, from whom, on joining the Capuchin Order, he received his ecclesiastical training preparatory to his ordination, and on Holy Saturday, 1814, he was raised to the priesthood by the Most Reverend Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin.

After spending a short time with his parents at Rathcloheen, he was sent by his superior to serve the Capuchin mission at Kilkenny. But owing to an unfortunate misunderstanding with the bishop, the Right Rev. Dr. Marum, whereby his faculties were for a time withdrawn, he resolved to leave Kilkenny. Explanations were given and received, and the bishop entirely recalled his prohibition; nevertheless, Father Mathew thought it best to adhere to his resolution.

He was then sent to the "Little Friary" at Cork, and this was, for the remainder of his life, his home and the centre of his labours. When Father Mathew came to Cork in 1814, fifteen years before Emancipation, the state of religion was not flourishing. There were but few schools in the city, and children wandered about the streets, idle, ignorant, and exposed to many temptations. There were no societies such as exist in our own days for visiting or relieving the poor. The people were, indeed, sincerely attached to the faith, yet priests were few, and resources greatly restricted; ignorance and poverty were great, the churches were of poor structure and poorly furnished, and the services conducted with little solemnity. Here then, in the city of Cork, was a great field for a young priest with the zeal and the spiritual and physical strength of Father Mathew. With the fervour of his ordination, and the counsels of Father Corcoran

fresh in his mind, he threw himself into his work, and soon he had gathered around him crowds of the poor, not only from all parts of the city, but also from the surrounding country. As a director he was famed, and no confessional was so besieged as his. And in the performance of this duty was shown that remarkable power of endurance which was observed later on during his temperance campaigns; for while on several days of the week he was in the confessional from five in the morning till close on mid-day, with an interval for Mass and breakfast, on Saturdays, vigils of festivals, and fair days, he was often in the box for fifteen hours. His penitents comprised a great number of workers in the chandlery, buttermen, salt-fish dealers, lamplighters, and others of an equally unsavory class, and it may be easily imagined that his labourers were doubly trying. With all this, he was most assiduous in attending the poor in their own homes, visiting them in their sickness, comforting them in their troubles, and caring for their bodies as well as for their souls. The young Capuchin friar soon won his way to the hearts of the poor, and the poor of Cork looked upon Father Mathew in a special way as their own.

As a preacher, too, Father Mathew had a great reputation, and after awhile the chapel of the "Little Friary" was too small to contain the number of worshippers. His style was not the most elegant, nor could his sermons at any period of his ministry be read as models of pulpit oratory, but if eloquence be the power of persuading, Father Mathew was eloquent to a very high degree. He was *earnest*—earnest not with the assumed earnestness of one who looks upon it as a means to an end, but earnest because he himself was deeply impressed with the truth of the principles which he would impart to his hearers. And from this earnestness was generated in his audience a sympathy which arrested attention and carried conviction. His sermons on the Sacred Passion were his most successful efforts, and in these was shown his talent of describing the various incidents in their minute details, and of appealing to the pathetic feelings of his hearers. The warm, affectionate nature of his Irish audience was deeply moved by these descriptions; they could almost see Our Saviour suffering for them, they could almost hear the lash of the scourges, the blows of the hammer driving in the nails, the utterance of the sacred words from the Cross, and their feelings gave way in loud sobs and cries. Father Mathew's preaching is thus described by the Ven. Archdeacon O'Shea,* in his "Sketches of the Cork Catholic Pulpit":—

We have ourselves more than once gone to hear this preacher, with the express intent of duly and fairly estimating his powers as

* Apud Maguire.

a speaker, and have summoned to our aid as much of our critical bitterness as we conceived sufficient to preserve our judgment uninfluenced by the previous charm of his character. We were not listening to his affectionate, earnest, and pathetic exhortation more than ten minutes, when our criticism—our bitterness—our self-importance—left us; all within us of unkind and harsh was softened down—our heart beat only to kindlier emotions—we sympathised with our fellow-Christians around us. We defy the sternness and severity of criticism to stand unmoved, though it may remain unawakened, while Mr. Mathew is preaching; and this surely is no mean criterion of the excellence of his character, and the efficiency of his ministry in the pulpit. . . . His principal talent lies in the disposal of the persuasive topics. He is fond of appealing—and in truth he does it with success—to the warm devotional feelings that have their fixed and natural seat in the Catholic bosom; to the devotional recollections and associations that alternately soothe and alarm the Catholic mind. To all these he appeals; matters so full of thrilling interest, and of inherent eloquence, that they burst on the soul with an all-subduing, instantaneous and electric force, purifying and ennobling the commonest phraseology that happens to be selected as their vehicle. Thus has this excellent young man gone on, notwithstanding many imperfections, which may yet be removed by ordinary study and attention, preaching earnestly and successfully, and enforcing truth and illustrating the beauty of the doctrine of his religion, by the noblest, the fairest, and most convincing comment—the undeviating rectitude, the unspotted purity, the extensive and indefatigable beneficence of his life. *O, si sic omnes!*

His personal appearance was no doubt of great advantage to him. Though rather short of stature and of full figure, slightly inclined to corpulence, there was a grace and dignity in every movement. His face was round, his features singularly beautiful, his nose, though somewhat large, was yet not out of proportion and was well shaped; his head, adorned with a profusion of wavy black hair, was so set upon his shoulders as to give him a noble bearing; his bright dark eyes gave an air of intelligence and animation, and his mouth, harmonising with the nose and chin, seemed to indicate at once benevolence and strength of will. In addition to this, the modesty of his demeanour and the gentleness and affability of his manner were such as to gain over all hearts to himself and to give him an immense power both in public and in private.

Opportunities for improving the condition of the poor came with the large congregation that now attended the Little Friary, and Father Mathew was not slow to make use of them. His first care was for the education of the children. With the assistance of some ladies he opened a girls' school in a barn close to the chapel of the Friary, and in a few years there was an attend-

ance of five hundred. Soon after, a boys' school was started, the scholars being recruited chiefly from the gutters; and these street arabs, wild, ragged, and ignorant in the extreme when first admitted, received a good education, both religious and secular, and were, moreover, clothed and turned into respectable members of society. This school furnished the altar boys and the choir, and the chapel of the Little Friary was soon distinguished among the churches of Cork for the solemnity of the services. As the boys grew up they were not lost sight of, but were still kept around the sanctuary, and many of them were employed as catechists and assistant teachers. Father Mathew also formed a society for visiting the poor and the sick, much on the lines of the society of Saint Vincent de Paul; he founded a good lending library, and in 1830 he took on a long lease the Botanic Gardens of Cork and laid them out as a Catholic cemetery, by this means not only relieving the poor from the excessive fees to which they had been subjected on the occasion of funerals—for in Father Mathew's cemetery the poor were buried gratis—but also freeing them from a not unusual interference of bigotry.

In 1832 Cork was visited by the Asiatic cholera, which raged with fearful intensity in all parts of the city, but especially among the dwellings of the poor. The people were appalled and dismayed as each hour brought news of the plague having spread in a fresh direction, or of another victim having succumbed to its attack. The hospitals were crowded, temporary ones were opened and they were soon filled; numbers were stricken and were dying in their houses. Illness and death were of course attended by poverty and want. At this critical time Father Mathew was amongst those who took a conspicuous part, not only in the unwearied attendance at the bedside of the plague-stricken, even before his own district was attacked, but also in suggesting and practically carrying out measures for relief in the dwellings of the poor and in the hospitals. And when his own parish was visited Father Mathew was most assiduous in his care of the sick. He was also a constant attendant at the large hospital which was opened in Cove Street, close to his dwelling, himself taking the heaviest share of the nightwork, and carefully supervising the nurses and servants to ensure the strict performance of their duties.

The following incident, though published long ago in Mr. Maguire's "*Life of Father Mathew*," is so interesting that we shall be forgiven for reproducing it:

He had administered the last rites of religion to a young man in whom he had a special interest, and having received a summons to another part of the hospital, he hurriedly quitted the ward, from which he was absent but a short time. On his return he approached the

bed in which he had left the young man alive ; but the bed was now unoccupied. "Nurse, nurse! what has become of the young man who lay in this bed?" asked Father Mathew. "Dead, sir," was the laconic answer. "Dead?—it cannot be—where is he?" "The corpse is taken to the dead-house, sir." "I can't believe he is dead—I must go myself and see," said Father Mathew; and he at once proceeded to the ghastly chamber to which the dead were borne, previous to being taken out for interment. It presented an awful spectacle indeed. At one end was a pile of miserable coffins, the merest shells, made of thin boards and knocked together with a few nails. Some of these wretched receptacles were on the floor, either with their lids fastened down, or open and awaiting their future occupants. On tables, and also on the floor, lay a number of bodies, in each of which a heart throbbed and a soul dwelt a few hours before. Some lay, blue and distorted, in the sheet in which they had been snatched from the bed on which they had died; more were wrapped, like mummies, in similar sheets, which had been covered with pitch or tar, liberally laid on to prevent contagion. Amidst that scene of death in its most appalling aspect, there was a horrid bustle of life; coffins being nailed down with noisy clatter—sheets being rapidly covered with a black seething substance—bodies being moved from place to place, and tumbled into their last receptacle with the haste and indifference which a terrible familiarity with death engenders in the minds of a certain class—orders hoarsely given—figures moving or reeling to and fro; for it was necessary that those who performed the horrid and revolting duties of that chamber should be well plied with whisky: it was the custom of the time and the necessity of the moment. Into this scene of horrors, which was partly lighted by a few coarse flickering candles, Father Mathew hurriedly entered. Even the strongest might have recoiled at the spectacle that met his sight: but he only thought of the object of his mission. There lay the body, and near it were two men preparing the tarred sheet in which they were to wrap it. "Stop, stop!" said Father Mathew, "sure the young man can't be dead!" "Dead, your reverence! God forbid you or me would be as dead as that poor fellow—the Lord have mercy on his soul!" said one of the men. "No, no, I can't believe it—I was speaking to him a moment before I left the ward—let me try." "Wisha, try, if you plaze, your reverence; but he's as dead a door-nail; and sure it doesn't take long to carry a man off in these times—God be between us and harm!" There was a momentary suspension of the loathsome work as Father Mathew knelt down beside the body and pressed his hand lightly over the region of the heart. A group, such as few, save perhaps those who love to paint the terrible and the hideous, would desire to see near them, clustered round the devoted priest; and not a sound was heard for a time in that chamber of death. There was a suspense of a moment—it seemed an age—when Father Mathew cried out exultantly—"Thank God! he is alive!—I feel his heart beat—thank God! thank God!" It was true—life was not extinct; and restora-

tives having been applied, the young man was removed to another part of the hospital—and in a few days after he was able to pour forth his gratitude to him who, through God's mercy, had rescued him from inevitable death; for had but another minute elapsed, he was lost to this world for ever. As may be supposed, this incident had a salutary effect in the hospital, though it was little wanted to render as untiring as ever the sleepless vigilance of Father Mathew.

Father Mathew's untiring energy during the cholera, and his generosity and self-sacrifice greatly increased his reputation, and by the year 1838, when we enter upon another phase in his career, Theobald Mathew was, perhaps, the most respected, the most beloved, and the most influential priest in the south of Ireland. He was now in his forty-seventh year, he had had over twenty years of great experience, and had thus obtained an intimate knowledge of the life and ways of the poor of all classes; and this knowledge, together with his influence, eminently fitted him for the new sphere of work upon which he was now to enter.

The Temperance movement, which had been started in America a few years previously, had found its way into Ireland, and at the time of which we are speaking there were some sixty temperance societies in the country, though the number of adherents was but small. In Cork there was a small temperance society founded on the total abstinence principles, which had been initiated by John Livesey, and some others, at Preston, in 1832. The most prominent member of this society was Mr. William Martin—more commonly styled "Billy" Martin—a Quaker; a man of no great parts, but enthusiastic in the cause of temperance. Father Mathew and Martin were both Governors of the Cork Workhouse, and the Quaker lost no opportunity as they went through the wards, or took into their consideration the various cases of distress that were brought to their notice, of impressing upon the priest the evils of intemperance and its influence upon the cases before them. "O, Theobald Mathew," he would say, time after time, "if *thou* wouldst take the cause in hand, thou couldst do such good to these poor creatures!" Martin was supported by a certain Mr. Olden, who repeatedly said to Father Mathew: "Mr. Mathew, you have a mission; do not reject it." Their continued appeals were not lost upon Father Mathew. He knew well that Martin spoke the truth, that intemperance *was* the cause of much of the misery and poverty of the people whom he loved so well; he knew also that if he were to take the cause in hand that a great number would be sure to follow him. Yet there were great difficulties. The temperance movement had made but little progress in Ireland; it had met with a considerable amount of ridicule, and as it had been taken up entirely by those outside

the Church, it is not unlikely that it would be received with grave suspicion and disfavour by a Catholic people. For a long time he took no steps, but Martin's words haunted him, "O, Theobald Mathew, if *thou* wouldst but take the cause in hand." And at last, after long and fervent prayer, he sent for Mr. Martin, and it was arranged that a temperance meeting should be held under Father Mathew's auspices, and on April 10, 1838, was held the first Catholic temperance meeting. They met in the school-room of the Little Friary. Father Mathew presided, and was supported by Mr. Martin, Mr. Olden, and others. There was a fair attendance of respectable people, but of the intemperate, for whose benefit the meeting was chiefly held—there was not one. Father Mathew, in his address, stated the object of the meeting, and referred to the applications which had frequently been made to him to start a temperance society for Catholics :

These gentlemen [he continued] are good enough to say that I could be useful in promoting the great virtue of temperance, and arresting the spread of drunkenness. I am quite alive to the evils which this vice brings with it, especially to the humbler classes, who are naturally most exposed to its temptation, and liable to yield to its seductive influences. I have always endeavoured, as a minister of religion, to discourage drunkenness, not with the success I desired, it is true; but I yield to no one in my wish to see our working classes sober and self-respecting. I could not refuse to listen to the many appeals made to me. Your respected friend Mr. Martin, has often asked me to do what I am about to do this night—and Mr. Olden, whom you well know, has told me that "the mission was from God, and that I should not reject it." My dear friends, I much fear that your kind partiality has made you overlook my many defects, and attribute to me merits which I am very far from possessing: but if, through any humble instrumentality of mine, I can do good to my fellow-creatures, and give glory to God, I feel I am bound, as a minister of the Gospel, to throw all personal considerations aside, and try to give a helping hand to gentlemen who have afforded me so excellent an example. Indeed, if only one poor soul could be rescued from destruction by what we are now attempting, it would be giving glory to God, and well worth all the trouble we could take. No person in health has any need of intoxicating drinks. My dear friends, you don't require them, nor do I require them—neither do I take them. Many of you here have proved that they can be done without, for you are strong in health, and in the possession of all your faculties. After much reflection on the subject, I have come to the conviction that there is no necessity for them for any one in good health; and I advise you all to follow my example. I will be the first to sign my name in the book which is on the table, and I hope we shall soon have it full.

Then taking the pen, he said aloud, "Here goes in the name

of God!" and wrote in the large book lying on the table, "Rev. Theobald Mathew, C.C., 1 Cove Street, Cork." About sixty of those who were present followed his example and signed after him. Thus was born the "Cork Total Abstinence Society."

Meetings were then held on Friday and Saturday evenings each week, and after Mass on Sundays. At each meeting a good number signed the book, and all doubt as to the success of the movement was speedily at an end. The word was spread abroad, "Father Mathew has got a society of his own," and people from far and near came flocking to the meetings. The school-room had to be abandoned, and the Horse Bazaar, a covered space capable of holding some four thousand people, was placed at Father Mathew's disposal by the owner, Mrs. O'Connor, one of his most devoted friends. Meetings were now held nightly, the Bazaar being densely crowded each night. In three months from the day of the first gathering in the school-room twenty-five thousand persons had taken the pledge; in five months the number was increased to one hundred and thirty thousand; and before the close of the year one hundred and fifty-six thousand persons had enrolled themselves as total abstainers. These were not all from the city of Cork alone. The news travelled along the banks of the Shannon; first came the men of Kilrush, then some hundreds from Kerry, then numbers from Limerick, and in a few months people were coming from all parts of Ireland on the "pilgrimage to Cork"—to take the pledge from Father Mathew, and receive his blessing.

And not only was the Horse Bazaar filled to overflowing, but during the daytime Father Mathew's parlour was besieged, while outside in the streets batches of ten, twenty, thirty, were constantly to be seen waiting for the "Apostle of Temperance," that they might kneel before him and make their solemn promise to abstain from strong drink for the rest of their life.

It was not long before the big book which lay on the table at the meeting in the school-room—with Father Mathew's own name on the top of the first page—was filled, but the *signing* of the pledge was found to be too slow a process where the number of postulants was so great, and the expedient was resorted to of repeating the pledge in "batches"—small groups kneeling before the platform repeated the words after the Apostle, who then came down to them, laid his hand on the head of each, giving his blessing and a few words of encouragement. The formula of the pledge was at first as follows: "I promise, with the divine assistance, as long as I will (*sic*) continue a member of the Teetotal Temperance Society, to abstain from all intoxi-

cating drinks, except for medicinal purposes;* and to prevent as much as possible, by advice and example, drunkenness in others." But in 1841 the pledge was given without any saving clause, and the formula was: "I promise with the divine assistance to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, and to prevent as much as possible, by word and example, drunkenness in others." Father Mathew found by experience that the saving clauses left too easy a loophole for escape, and he had made up his mind that the success of the movement depended on the pledge being kept in its entirety. On several occasions he refused point blank to administer the pledge for a limited period.

In December 1839 Father Mathew was invited to Limerick to preach a charity sermon, and though he intended to make use of the opportunity to spread the temperance movement, yet it was not expected that many pledges would be taken, for several of the people of Limerick had already taken part in the pilgrimage to Cork. But the crowds that poured in were so numerous that the authorities threw open the public buildings in order that the strangers might find shelter for the night, and the food supply ran short. The iron railings in front of the house where Father Mathew was staying were carried away by the pressure of the multitude, and a number of people fell into the river, fortunately without any casualty. Indeed the description of the scene given by Father James Birmingham, then parish priest of Borrisokane, places a severe strain on the reader's credulity. He says:

I have been told by those who were spectators of the scene that some of the horses, with their riders, of the Scots Greys, who were there to keep order, were occasionally lifted from the ground and carried away for a short distance by the rushing multitude; and so densely were the people crowded, that several in their eagerness to approach Mr. Mathew, ran along to their destination quietly and securely on the heads and shoulders of the vast assemblage!

Father Mathew remained four days at Limerick, preaching, exhorting, and administering the pledge, with the result that a hundred and fifty thousand were added to the number of his followers.

A few days after this he went to Waterford, where he met with as enthusiastic a reception as he had received at Limerick. The three days' mission gained eighty thousand to the cause. Parsonstown was the next place visited, and the scene is thus described by Father James Birmingham, who was present:

* When the pledge was administered to the clergy this clause ran: "for medicinal or sacramental purposes." I have also seen the form; "except for medicinal purposes, with the certificate of a physician."

In front of the chapel was stationed a large body of police, presenting a very fine and well disciplined force; outside these were the rifles on bended knee, with bayonets fixed and pointed, forming a barrier to oppose the rushing multitudes, whilst within and without this barrier to keep the passage clear, the cavalry in all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war, with flags waving to the wind—moved up and down in slow and measured pace. Beyond and as far as the eye could reach were the congregated masses waving to and fro with every new impulse, and by their united voices producing a deep indistinct sound like the murmur of the ruffled waters of the sea. Within the vicarial residence, and in strong contrast to the stirring scene without, sat the mild, unassuming, but extraordinary man, round whom had collected this display of martial and numerical force. He seemed perfectly unconscious of the excitement he had produced, and spoke and acted as if he regarded himself as the least remarkable man of the age.

Dublin was visited in March; meetings were held both in halls and in the open air, and in two days seventy thousand pledges had been administered. Not the least important of these meetings was the one held for ladies in the Royal Exchange, at which five hundred of those present took the pledge.

In 1808 he had left Maynooth in disgrace; in June 1840 he re-entered its walls in triumph. After a series of addresses to the members of the College, whereby he gained over to the cause of temperance two hundred and fifty of the students and eight of the professors, he gave a mission to the people of the town and neighbourhood, and administered thirty-five thousand pledges. Carlow, Nenagh—where twenty thousand took the pledge in one day—Galway—where a hundred thousand pledges were the harvest of a two days' mission—Newry, Lurgan, Belfast, Downpatrick, Derry, Ennis, Clonmel, Thurles, Cashel, Templemore, Castleconner, Rathdowney, had their turn. Indeed by the time that his work was over, and the incessant labour, the fatigue, and the tremendous strain of mind had shattered his once splendid constitution, there was scarcely a parish in the whole of Ireland which Father Mathew had not visited, and in which he had not numerous adherents. The roll of sixty pledges which had been obtained on the night of April 10, 1838, had grown by the summer of 1843 to the number of five millions.

A few further quotations from Father Birmingham, who frequently accompanied Father Mathew on his missions, may be interesting to the reader. The following is the account he gives of the visit to his own parish, Borrisokane:

Mr. Mathew arrived late at night (at Borrisokane) and unexpectedly. Only a few had been aware of his arrival; and in the morning when I waited on him, the postulants were but thinly

scattered up and down the street. I asked Mr. Mathew to do me the honour of spending the day with me. He expressed his regret that time did not permit him, and declared that he should be off the moment he had received into the Society the few who presented themselves. Fame, however, was busy in trumpeting the reverend gentleman's visit to our neighbourhood; and I became indebted to the number and enthusiasm of those who poured in to be enrolled, for the honour of receiving at my board the distinguished guest, it had appeared I should for that day be obliged to forego. Each moment Mr. Mathew was on the point of moving away, but each moment brought numbers from the surrounding parishes, who, having heard that the reverend gentleman had been at Borrisokane, threw aside their various implements of industry, and hurried in to enlist themselves under the standard of temperance and receive the good man's blessing. Fatigued and breathless, men, women, and children rushed forward indiscriminately to take the pledge. Mr. Mathew could not bring himself to disappoint such eagerness, or damp such ardour. He was consequently obliged to remain; and standing on a stone seat under a venerable ash tree—now more venerable than ever—he received in this small town, without any previous notice having been given, seven or eight thousand souls.

Very characteristic of Father Mathew was his reception at Borrisokane of Paddy Hayes, a notorious drunkard of that parish. It is thus described by Father Birmingham:

This man had been almost proverbially intemperate; his sober moments had been far more few than his moments of drunkenness. Still on that memorable day—Shrove Tuesday, 1840—he presented himself as a postulant, though reeling on the very confines of intoxication. I intimated this man's approach to Father Mathew. In a moment the advocate of temperance ordered a passage to be cleared and Paddy Hayes to be admitted. With a smile, in which benignity and confidence were mingled, he extended his hand to the penitent drunkard, saying: "Come forward, my poor fellow, you are worth waiting for." The postulant cast himself on his knees with "Heaven bless *you*, Father Mathew," took the pledge, and received the blessing. This man is now an industrious and exemplary character; and he often speaks with pride of the honour done him by the Apostle of Temperance.

The visit to Loughrea is thus described:

Long before I approached Loughrea, the numbers of people whom I met momentarily after having taken the pledge assured me that the reverend gentleman had not yet finished his labours. On my entrance Loughrea presented a scene which it is impossible to describe. The town was full to overflowing; yet there was not the slightest appearance of disorder or excitement; but what might be termed a thrilling quiet reigned throughout. Any money was given for bread, strong coffee, and hot soups; but the whisky-shops were

shunned as if pestilence issued from the doors. With the greatest difficulty I made my way, step by step, to the Artillery Barrack Yard, where thousands were pledging themselves to abandon for ever their seductive and degrading habits. No place could be better adapted to the purpose of administering the pledge than the yard. There were two gates guarded by the police, through one of which the people entered and departed by the other. It was capable of containing from eight to ten thousand persons; and for the greater part of the two days that Mr. Mathew was occupied, each batch completely filled the yard. On Wednesday, the first day, there were about thirty thousand admitted members of the Teetotal Temperance Society, and about fifty thousand on the second day, making in all about eighty thousand souls. Amongst these were persons of different religious persuasions and many ladies of respectability. . . . Early in the morning Father Mathew, accompanied by several of the local clergy, set out for Portumna, but their progress was very slow, as they had to stop at each village and, indeed, frequently along the road to admit fresh postulants. Between Galway, Loughrea, and the road to Portumna close on two hundred thousand persons took the pledge.

We now turn to Father Mathew's missions in the sister island. At the pressing invitation of Dr. Murdoch, bishop of Glasgow, Father Mathew passed over to that city on August 13, 1842, and gave a week's mission there, receiving a hearty public welcome, not only from the Catholic clergy and laity, but also from the various non-Catholic Temperance Associations, representatives of which came from all parts of the country. Father Mathew said Mass each morning at St. Mary's, Clyde Street, where he preached on the Sunday to a large congregation. On the Tuesday, which was the day of the great public procession to celebrate his arrival in Scotland, some twelve thousand persons took the pledge, but on the following day the number was still greater, and the attempt to count them was abandoned. No wonder we read that "at the end of the day's proceedings Father Mathew seemed quite exhausted."

The following year Father Mathew visited England. He left Ireland on June 30, and arrived in Liverpool on the following day. He spent a fortnight in Liverpool, during which he held meetings, and visited all the Catholic schools and several factories. On the Sundays he preached to large congregations in the principal Catholic churches, and afterwards administered the pledge; and not a day passed that he did not spend several hours in advancing the cause of temperance. It is worthy of note that during his stay at Liverpool he was assisted by Father Ingatius Spencer, himself an ardent promoter of total abstinence.

From Liverpool he went to Manchester. He had arranged to arrive there on the afternoon of July 18, and a procession, formed

by the Catholic clergy, a large number of the laity, together with several members of the non-Catholic Temperance Societies of Manchester and Salford, went to the station to meet him; but they were twice disappointed, for Father Mathew, detained at Liverpool on account of the arrival of a number of fresh applicants for the pledge, did not leave Liverpool till the following morning. On the 21st he was entertained at a temperance tea party in the Free Trade Hall, at which the mayor, Mr. Thomas Kershaw, presided, and gave an address of welcome to the Apostle. He remained at Manchester a week. In four days nearly eighteen thousand persons had taken the pledge, of whom about one half were children; but between 9 P.M. on Monday 24th, till 9 A.M. the following morning, when he left the town, some ten thousand persons had been before him and given their promise. His hotel was besieged; many persons even forced their way into his bedroom; till at last he descended into the hall of the hotel and there received all-comers. During his stay in Manchester the number of cases brought before the magistrates diminished to one-third the usual number, and the absence of drunkenness in the streets was very marked.

After visiting the chief towns of Lancashire, Father Mathew went into Yorkshire, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm in York, Leeds, Wakefield, and other places. So gratifying was the success which attended his missions in this county—two hundred thousand persons took the pledge in the course of some ten days—that he frequently alluded to it, later on, in his speeches, and held up the people of Yorkshire as a contrast to the comparative apathy which he encountered in the south. His reception at York was on a very grand scale, and was perhaps the most important of any accorded to him during his stay in England. At Wakefield, also, he was very well received, and Mr. Maguire tells us of a very ingenious device whereby a certain Quaker admirer secured the honour of giving hospitality to the apostle of temperance. The good Quaker invited Father Mathew to stay with him; but the Father invariably declined such invitations, preferring to put up at an hotel, so that he might be more at liberty in his movements and in the reception of those who wished to see him. A reply to this effect was sent to the would-be host, who then wrote insinuating that his house was an hotel; Father Mathew thereupon agreed to stay there during his visit to Wakefield. On Father Mathew's arrival there was indeed a board, with "Hotel" in large characters upon it, on the front of the house, and Father Mathew was without the least restraint in going in or out and in receiving whom he pleased and when he pleased; but the so-called hotel differed very materially from other houses of this class, and it was only at the close of his stay

that his kindly host acquainted him with the *ruse* by which he had been enticed into accepting the proffered hospitality.

From Yorkshire, Father Mathew went straight on to London, where he put up at Hart's Temperance Hotel in Aldersgate-street. On Monday, July 31, he made his first appearance in the metropolis, inaugurating the week's mission in the Commercial-road East. Father Mathew accompanied by several of the Catholic clergy and other persons arrived on the ground, a large open space now occupied by the Church of SS. Mary and Michael, about ten o'clock in the morning, and found some thousands of persons awaiting him. Father Mathew himself made the opening speech, explaining the object of his mission, the advantages of total abstinence, and the success which had attended his efforts in Ireland, and in those parts of England which he had already visited. The meeting was then addressed by some of the clergy, by Mr. Tere, one of Father Mathew's secretaries, and by Lord Stanhope; but the most impressive speech of all was one made by a private in the Grenadier Guards. About fifty thousand persons were present throughout the day, of whom about three thousand took the pledge. Each day till the following Monday, Father Mathew continued his mission in the Commercial-road, generally arriving about ten o'clock, and remaining on the ground till dusk. On the closing day of the mission, Sunday, August 6, close on sixty thousand persons were present during the day, of whom some six thousand joined the cause. Here, as in Ireland, he administered the pledge by getting the people to come forward in batches, parties of twenty or thirty kneeling before the platform, and reciting after him the formula. When he found several of his own countrymen in the batch, he would recite the formula in Irish as well as in English. He would then descend from the platform, lay his hand on the head of each, making the sign of the cross over him and saying: "May God bless you, and give you strength to keep the promise you have made."

Some idea of the variety of the persons of whom the batches were composed may be gathered from the fact that during the Commercial-road mission one batch comprised a Spanish priest, an Anglican clergyman and his wife, a Scotch Presbyterian piper—who struck up a bucolic "*Te Deum*," immediately after his initiation—and two policemen, Irishmen; another contained some Anglican clergymen and some University students; in another were several firemen, and one batch was honoured by the presence of a German Catholic Bishop. Not a few presented themselves with black eyes and disfigured features, very suitable subjects for the Apostle. Father Mathew exhorted them to keep the pledge and not to quarrel again, and they, with many expressions of peni-

tence, promised that they would never more "make bastes of themselves."

The next mission was conducted at Kennington Common, whither Father Mathew was escorted on the opening day, August 7, by several non-Catholic Temperance Societies, and by an enormous crowd, which blocked the traffic along the route. On this occasion, a lamentable outrage was committed on a certain Mr. Orme; on his attempting to force his way through the procession his horse was seized, the reins cut, and Mr. Orme himself very dangerously wounded. His assailant was arrested, and on the following day, Father Mathew strongly deprecated the outrage, and sent a messenger to Mr. Orme with an apology. Fortunately assaults on the part of the friends of temperance were of rare occurrence notwithstanding the crowds. The mission on Kennington Common was intended for the whole of the south of London, and certainly the attendance was very numerous; on the first day alone, about one hundred thousand persons altogether were present, and five thousand pledges were administered.

Father Mathew remained in London and in the neighbourhood rather more than a month. During that time he gave missions in Westminster, Chelsea, St. Giles', Paddington, Marylebone, Regent's Park, Millbank, Deptford, Greenwich, Bermondsey, Hackney, Blackheath, Enfield, Stratford, and other places. Missions projected at Chelmsford and elsewhere had to be abandoned for want of time. The last mission was held on September 5, in a court near Orchard Street, Portman Square, and the proceedings were at one stage rendered particularly lively by the entrance of two big draymen, carrying between them a large barrel of beer on a pole. With this they endeavoured to force their way through the crowd and to throw the meeting into disorder. A fight soon ensued, and though the brewer's men were quite equal to the occasion, yet the force of numbers was too much for them—they were ejected, the barrel was staved, and the beer coursed along the gutters.

It was not to be expected that the promoters of the liquor trade would submit quietly to the loss likely to ensue to them from these temperance missions, and in some cases their resistance was so formidable that it might have been followed by very injurious consequences both to Father Mathew himself and to his adherents. The night before the meeting at Deptford intelligence was received that the brewers were preparing a hot reception for the teetotallers. A council of war was held at Virginia Street, at midnight; it was resolved to meet force by force, and a regular system of manœuvres was drawn up. During the small hours of the morning an armed force of between six and seven hundred men, with "sticks, nothing but sticks," from Virginia

Street, Wapping, and a few other places, was collected, leaders were appointed, and signals arranged. In the morning, as the processions approached the ground they found the road partly obstructed by a number of waggons containing barrels of beer and spirits, which were being freely and copiously dispensed to a band of roughs evidently bent on mischief. The "gallant six hundred" took up their position in the outer ring of the ground, the inner part being left free for the candidates and the speechifying, while in a convenient corner were about a hundred amazons from Wapping, each with an umbrella—and inside the umbrella a *shillelagh*. Soon after the proceedings had commenced, a movement was perceived under the platform, and it was discovered that some ruffians were endeavouring to cut the cords which bound the supports together; at the same time the now well-primed roughs from the waggons and from the adjoining public-house, which was the stronghold of their party, were seen to be pressing forward. Then a white handkerchief was waved by some one on the platform, the men with sticks turned upon the intending assailants, and a fierce fight commenced. Presently the amazon brigade from Wapping made for the waggon horses, cut the traces and tethers, and set them scampering off, causing no little disorder to the drink party; meanwhile some men, with strong hammers, which they had brought for the purpose, broke the barrels and sent the beer and spirits flowing down the street. As the roughs were being driven back several of them took refuge in the public-house, from the windows of which they hurled missiles of various kinds upon their opponents. These however stormed the house and broke open the door; several men rushed upstairs, and not only severely beat those whom they found, but even flung some of them from the windows into the street, while others forcing their way into the bar, smashed everything they could find, and left the place a complete wreck. The party of temperance having completely routed their adversaries, marched through Deptford with flying banners, and were greeted with cheers by those who sympathised with them.

At Blackheath affairs might have been still more serious, for the drink party were in stronger force and were exasperated by their recent defeat. They seem, too, to have aimed at wreaking their vengeance on Father Mathew himself. The teetotalers, on the other hand, were not only weak in numbers, but they were in no way prepared for a fight, not having had any idea of the danger. So recourse was had to strategy. When the roughs were about to commence their work, a man named M'Carthy—a strong temperance *advocate*, though not an abstainer—who had a knack of keeping the people amused, was put up to speak. He was told to do the best he could for a few minutes, and by his jokes and

antics he contrived to arrest the attention of the rioters while a cab with a pair of good horses was hurried up to a spot close by, but out of sight; Father Mathew managed to get in unobserved and drove off, and when he was at a safe distance it was announced that he had left, and the meeting broke up peaceably.*

The result of Father Mathew's mission in London was sixty-eight thousand pledges, taken publicly, and six thousand in schools and factories. They were taken chiefly from the Irish of the poorer class; but many Protestants also took the pledge, and some Catholics of good position, among them the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the Hon. Mrs. Petre, the Countess of Clare, Captain Jerningham, and others.† Bishop Griffiths took a very keen interest in the work, and appointed Father Moore, the present venerable pastor of Southend-on-Sea, to be in constant attendance on Father Mathew during his stay in London. On the whole, there was a lack of enthusiasm, and Father Mathew was far from satisfied.

Father Mathew and his day's work on the mission are thus described in the *Times*: ‡

During the whole day Father Mathew neither tasted food nor drank anything, and he was hard at work talking and administering the pledge the whole of the time. His speeches were temperate and imbued with kindly feeling, and he took great pains to convince his hearers that he did not wish to advance the interest of any particular party either in religion or politics, and declared that the Protestants of Ireland had received him with the same cordiality as the members of his own Church. Father Mathew has won golden opinions from all men by his affability and simple manner, and he is an example in his own person that cheerfulness and good humour can be reconciled with total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks.

From London he went to Norwich, where he was entertained and warmly supported by the Protestant bishop, Dr. Stanley. Thence he went to Birmingham, where a public reception was

* The details of these incidents were given to me by one of the principal actors.

† It may interest our readers to have some of the details of the Catholic children to whom Father Mathew administered the pledge: three hundred boys of St. Patrick, Wapping; one hundred boys of St. John's Wood; the girls of Warwick Street; four hundred children, presumably Catholics, "presented by Father Moore"; the children of Somers Town, Virginia Street, Warwick Street, Chelsea, Marylebone. There were many other children mentioned in a general way. During his stay at Birmingham he visited Oscott College, and a number of the students took the pledge. His Eminence, Cardinal Manning, in 1873, called together a number of working-men, with the object of starting the League of the Cross; some sixteen of those present had taken the pledge from Father Mathew; one might ask, "Where are the nine?"

‡ *Times*, August 3, 1843.

given to him by the Mayor; and finally he went to Liverpool again, and after a short stay there he returned to Ireland.

In one of his speeches at Birmingham he gave a summary of his mission in England, and stated that during the three months he had administered about six hundred thousand pledges.

Soon after his return to Ireland, it became publicly known that Father Mathew was heavily involved. His open-handed charities, the printing and clerical expenses connected with the promotion of the temperance cause, and the gratuitous distribution of the medals, had not only used up the whole of his own private fortune and of the large sums placed at his disposal, but had also burdened him with heavy debts. Lord John Russell was not far wrong when, speaking at a public meeting held for the purpose of raising funds to relieve Father Mathew, he said: "Let us confess it; if Father Mathew had zeal and energy, he had not in the same degree that spirit of prudence which would not have been wanting in hearts either less ardent or less devoted to the success of the cause." *Punch* wrote at this time:

Mathew the martyr a conqueror, but a pauper. Taught by him, the peasant and the workman have seen their homes smiling with comfort, but the teacher of thrift is going to prison for debt. Mathew is arrested for payment of the medals which glisten on the breasts of an immense army of his disciples, and there is, in our opinion, no decoration so noble or so honourable. Let Ireland rise as one man, or her saviour will be lying in the gaol of a county saved by him.

Not only in Ireland, but in England also, subscriptions were set on foot; the £7000 were raised, and Father Mathew was, for the time, freed from his embarrassments. This was in 1844. Two years later came the famine, and the "apostle of temperance" became an apostle of charity. His great knowledge of the whole country caused him to be of the greatest assistance to the Government—which expended altogether £1,500,000 in relief during the famine period; his influence brought in large supplies, both of money and of provisions, from England and America; and his untiring energy kept him ever engaged in alleviating the distress of the famine-stricken people. The famine inflicted the death-blow to the "Total Abstinence Society," but Father Mathew had the consolation of being able to prove to the public that where the temperance cause had prospered and the pledge was adhered to, there the people were quiet, orderly, and patient, in the midst of their sufferings; in other places riots had occurred and many excesses were committed.

We can now only record, without going into details, some of the principal events of the remainder of his life. In April 1849,

Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Cork, died, and Father Mathew's name was placed first on the list of those recommended by the clergy to be his successor; the Holy See passed him over, however, and the second on the list was appointed. In the same year he was granted a pension of £300 from the Civil List, and Lord John Russell, in making this known to Father Mathew, wrote: "By this act his Majesty has been pleased to mark the high approval with which he has followed your meritorious exertions in combatting the habits of intemperance which obscure and often render fruitless the more noble qualities of your fellow countrymen."

In the summer of 1849, acting against the advice of his physicians, for he had had a stroke of paralysis not many months previously, he set sail for America, in compliance with a promise he had given to his American friends who had rendered such generous assistance during the time of the famine. He received there a welcome such as had never been previously accorded to any stranger, and during his stay in New York, the levées which he held in his hotel—besides the meetings and lectures—were so numerous attended, that it was found necessary to appoint certain days on which ladies only were received, in order that these might be saved the inconvenience of the crush. He remained two years and a half in America, during which he travelled thirty-seven thousand miles, visited three hundred cities and towns, and administered the pledge to over half a million of the population. But in his feeble state of health the over-exertion and the excitement were too much for him; moreover, he was weighed down with the thoughts of his constantly increasing liabilities; then he returned home, in 1851, a complete wreck. Soon after his return he was arrested at the suit of a medal merchant, but a compromise was effected and he was set at liberty. The following year he had a stroke of apoplexy, and though his recovery was rather rapid, and he went to work again, yet his health soon failed. A stay at Madeira for the winter of 1854 and the summer of 1855 brought no amelioration, and he came to his brother's house at Lehenagh to make his preparation for death. In the autumn of 1856, knowing that the end was close at hand, he left Lehenagh, much to the distress of his friends, and went to Queenstown, and there, during the months of October and November, he might be seen—white-haired, bent, and feeble—seated on one of the benches in the sun, or with slow and tottering steps and leaning on the boy at his side, pacing some sheltered spot, exchanging a cheery salute and "God bless you" with the passers-by. The final stroke came one morning as he was dressing. Then he lay for some days, unable to speak, but conscious and free from pain. Many

came to his bedside, some to repeat the words of the pledge; with difficulty he raised his hand and marked the sign of the cross on their forehead. By signs he made known his intentions with regard to his last resting-place—in the cemetery (Father Mathew's) under the cross. On the 8th of December 1856 Theobald Matthew was no more.

It has been well said in a previous number of this periodical :*

The record of such a career as that of Father Mathew is, of its own nature, less a biography of the man than an episode in the moral and social history of his age. The influence, almost unexampled in modern days, which he exercised over the minds of his countrymen, is less curious as a study of personal character than as an illustration of the laws which govern those mysterious half-spontaneous movements of the public mind which from time to time unexpectedly arise, and by which the ordinary current of human life seems for a season almost unaccountably interrupted. . . . Were it not that movements such as these† lose much of their picturesque interest when they are seen close at hand, and when, from habitual contact, the mind has become familiarised with their everyday aspect, we can hardly doubt that the "pilgrimage to Cork," the monster assemblages which crowded together in every district in Ireland, to meet the "Apostle of Temperance," the complete and unreasoning enthusiasm with which all, without distinction, followed at his call—Catholic and Protestant, rich and poor, the young man strong in the consciousness of virtuous habits and vigorous health, and the half-palsied sot, physically enervated by excess, and morally prostrated by the memory of a thousand forfeited promises and resolutions flung to the winds—might afford a subject for study scarcely less attractive, and of even greater practical importance, than the most wonderful among the marvels which form the romance of mediæval history.

The object of the great movement referred to was to put down intemperance, to root out that inclination for strong drink which, as Father Mathew said in one of his speeches, had "destroyed more victims than wars or famines did."

The consumption of spirits in Ireland was, indeed, greatly exceeded by that in Scotland, and although there was a greater quantity of spirits drunk in Ireland than in England, yet the beer-drinking in England almost put the two countries on an equality as regards the total consumption of strong liquor. But still intemperance had gained a firm footing in Ireland. At

* DUBLIN REVIEW for 1863, p. 313.

† The writer refers to the great movement of the crusades, and the wild and unregulated bursts of fanaticism, as of the Flagellants, the Pustoureaux, &c.

fairs, markets, and at both public and private convivial meetings, whisky-drinking was carried on to an appalling degree. The man that would not drink was a churl not fit for society, and he that could drink most was a pattern of joviality. All expedients had been of little avail. The clergy had preached, but to no purpose. Pledges had been given and promises made—and broken; and the keen Irish wit which added details to the promise on purpose to strengthen it, found in the confirmation itself a loophole for escape. The man who pledged himself “never to take a drop of whisky on Irish ground” evaded his promise by mounting a ladder or a tree, or anything else that raised him from the soil, and drinking to his heart's content. Those who promised never to drink “inside of a house or outside of a house,” drank their fill on the threshold—and there were numberless similar instances. One man, richer than his neighbours, who had abjured “all spirits distilled on land,” set up a still on board his yacht, thus apparently salving his conscience and sating his appetite.

In 1838 the consumption of spirits in Ireland reached its maximum—12,000,000 gallons were distilled that year. In five years from that date, as we have already seen, the number of total abstainers in Ireland was estimated at five millions. Make what allowance you will for exaggeration, for the number of those who broke the pledge and took it again, for those who broke the pledge and did *not* take it again,* and for those who took it more than once, as some did, for some peculiar notions of their own—like the old lady who is said to have gone up repeatedly for confirmation because she found it beneficial for her rheumatism. Still it must be acknowledged that the number of total abstainers, relatively to whole population of the country, was very great. As the number of pledges increased, the consumption of spirits decreased. The 12,000,000 gallons of 1838 had dwindled to about 6,500,000 in 1845; the difference between the excise duties on malt and whisky paid in 1839 and in 1845 was £574,422, and there had been a steady decrease each year. This was, no doubt, a heavy loss to the revenue; but this loss was more than compensated for by the increased consumption of other excisable goods, and already in 1842 the total *gain* amounted to £90,823. Many distillers and publicans had to close their premises—some of Father Mathew's immediate and dearest relatives were ruined; but bakers, grocers, dairymen and other tradesmen drove a far brisker business than before; a draper in one of the poorest parts of Dublin said that his trade

* Father Mathew asserted that the number of those who broke the pledge was, comparatively, very small; he was speaking previously to the famine.

had increased sixteenfold since the people had given up whisky. Crime and violence decreased *pari passu*. The number of convictions in 1838 was 12,049, in 1845 it was 7,101; the number of death sentences in 1832 was 66, in 1845 it was 13; the number of sentences to transportation in 1838 was 966, in 1845 it was 428. So marked was the improvement of the country in consequence of Father Mathew's apostolate that in 1840, when the movement had existed for barely two years, it was alluded to in the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Ebrington: "To the benefits which the temperance pledge has conferred upon Ireland in the improved habits of the people, and in the diminution of outrage, his Excellency bears a willing and a grateful testimony."

Such was the change effected from 1838 to 1845; and in another decade of years the work was practically undone. I do not mean that Ireland had gone back to the state in which it was, but that by that time the temperance movement, though it still existed, and its apostle still exercised his mission, lacked energy and life, and when Father Mathew's last wishes were fulfilled, and he was laid to rest "in the cemetery—under the Cross," the temperance movement, as a movement, was, for the time, buried with him.

We have not space to go into the causes of the failure, but we will point out two. The first was the famine, which brought desperation, and the impulse to drown care in oblivion, and left behind it a depression, a physical and moral weakness. It broke up the reading-rooms and coffee houses, and bands, and annihilated such organisation as there was. And the second cause was this, the Catholic Total Abstinence Society was a "one-man" movement; it was brought into existence by the fame, the zeal, the energy of one man; it grew and was kept alive and flourished, whilst it did flourish, through the fame and the zeal, and the energy of that one man. He had many helpers, but no lieutenants, and he had no successor; the prophet's mantle fell upon no other shoulders, and with Father Mathew himself the impetus of the cause speedily died away.

But yet it would not be correct to say that Father Mathew's work was dead—far from it. As a movement, an organisation, the Catholic Total Abstinence Society came to an end even before its great leader was taken to his reward. But the effects of the movement lived on; not only because, though by far the greater number of those who had taken the pledge broke it, yet there remained many who continued faithful; but also because Father Mathew created a healthy public opinion with regard to temperance—he taught his generation that drunkenness was not a mere weakness to be laughed at or palliated with the slightest excuse, but a degrading vice, offensive to God and man; that

not only could man do without strong drink, but temperance—even total abstinence—brought with it the blessings of a healthier constitution, a peaceful and comfortable home, a full pocket: that temperance helped to make a man a good Christian and a respectable citizen. He showed in an incontestable manner the close connection between drink, crime, and poverty, and that a nation sober is a nation orderly and prosperous. In fine he left in all classes that latent respect for temperance, which needs but a fresh impetus at a suitable moment to bring the movement once more into activity.

And, let us hope, the suitable moment has even now arrived. Theobald Mathew is the prominent figure of the hour, and his name is a name to conjure by. Already it has been made use of by the Bishops of Ireland—in connection with the "Apostle's" centenary—as a means for the revival of temperance. The archbishop and bishops of the province of Dublin write as follows:

It is not we trust presumptuous to entertain the thought that the time has now come—the time perhaps marked out in the order of God's providence for so great a work—when a renewed effort may be made in the cause of temperance reform with a more than common hopefulness of enduring success.

The centenary or hundredth anniversary of Father Mathew's birth will occur, as you know, within the present year. Even already the day of that anniversary, the 10th of next October, is looked forward to throughout Ireland as a great national festival. The people of Ireland feel that they are called upon to make worthy use of the occasion to do honour to the memory of one of the most illustrious of their fellow countrymen, one of the foremost among the benefactors of their race. County will vie with county, diocese with diocese, parish with parish, and town with town, in the effort to celebrate this festival of Father Mathew in a manner in some degree befitting so great an occasion.

But the fellow-countrymen of Father Mathew are surely called upon to honour his memory by something more worthy of him than all this, something more worthy of being tendered in the name of Ireland as a national tribute to the memory of so great a benefactor. For it cannot be lost sight of that, even in many of those fields of labour which in Father Mathew's lifetime seemed especially full of promise, the work to which so large a portion of his missionary life was so generously devoted has, long since, all but come to naught. Our people, it cannot be doubted, are truly grateful for the labours of that life. Neither, then, can it be doubted that they are called upon to preface their expressions of thankfulness with an humble avowal of their want of steadfastness in the cause in which those labours were expended, and with a practical resolve for the future to devote themselves to the work of making reparation for the shortcomings and errors of the past.

It has come, then, to be felt by all that the first step to be taken

in preparation for the coming centenary of Father Mathew's birth must be the organisation of some earnest effort for the revival and perpetuation of his work. The noblest tribute by which our country could attest her gratitude for his labours would be the spectacle of a nation united, under the blessing of religion, in a solemn league for the overthrow of that degrading bondage from which it was the object of those labours to set his country free.*

About the same time that that pastoral letter was issued a similar one was addressed to the clergy and laity of his diocese by the Archbishop of Cashel; and at this present time, Monday, October 13, will be passed—if the programme is carried out—on the site of the proposed statue to the "Apostle of Temperance," and in the presence of the *élite* of the Catholic Church and people, and of representatives of temperance bodies of all denominations, the following resolutions:

I. That this public meeting of citizens of Dublin, and others assembled under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor of Dublin, expresses its thorough appreciation of the untiring labours of Father Theobald Mathew in the great cause of Temperance, and its belief that the work to which he devoted the best years of his life conferred immense benefits upon his country and on mankind.

II. That this vast meeting declares its hope that this year, the centenary year of the birth of Father Mathew, shall witness not merely a revival of his work for the promotion of total abstinence, but also the consolidation and formation of suitable organisations for advancing it, so that the great temperance movement shall become permanent and progressive.

In England, too, an effort to check the ravages of drunkenness has been made by the combined action of the episcopate; in Scotland, the League of the Cross has lately been established in several dioceses and is making progress. In fact throughout the whole of the United Kingdom, an impetus has been given towards a revival of the temperance movement, and in each case the watchword which is to rouse the sleeping energy into life, to battle for temperance, is "Father Mathew."

We cannot expect, some would not even desire, to see again the extraordinary enthusiasm, the huge gatherings, the thousands—even millions—of pledged abstainers which signalised Father Mathew's apostolate, and marked it out as one of the marvels of our age; but all who have at heart the salvation of souls and the exaltation, both spiritual and material, of the church, will follow with interest and hopefulness the revival of a movement which, during the short period of its success, achieved results so highly beneficial to the Irish nation, and even to the whole English-speaking race.

W. H. COLOGAN.

* Pastoral letter issued last Easter, pp. 10, 11.

ART. VIII.—JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN.

1.—IN MEMORIAM LITERATURE.

1. *Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Cardinal Newman.* By WILLIAM CLIFFORD, Bishop of Clifton. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1890.
2. *Sayings of Cardinal Newman.* London : Burns & Oates.
3. *Cardinal Newman ; a Monograph.* By JOHN OLDCASTLE. Being the October, 1890, number of *Merry England*. London : John Simpkins, Essex Street, Strand.
4. *An Outline of the Life of Cardinal Newman.* By WILLIAM BARRY, D.D. London : Catholic Truth Society.
5. *Apologia pro Vita Sua :* being a History of his Religious Opinions. By JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN. [New and Cheaper Edition.] London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.
6. Magazine Articles :—"Cardinal Newman and his Contemporaries" (the *Contemporary Review*), by Mr. Wilfrid Meynell ; "Cardinal Newman" (the *New Review*), by Mr. C. Kegan Paul ; "John Henry Newman" (the *Fortnightly*), by Mr. W. S. Lilly, &c.

ON the evening of Monday, August 11, 1890, died, in his own Oratory of St. Philip Neri, Edgbaston, and at the patriarchal age of ninety years, John Henry Newman, Cardinal Deacon of the Holy Roman Church, with the Title of San Georgio in Velabro, for whose loss the deep sorrow not only of the Catholics of these lands, but it may be said of the English people everywhere is yet fresh and vivid,—*Requiescat in pace*. His end was, perhaps to an ideal extent, such as he himself would have desired. It matters little where one dies or when, as he well knew who had thought so often of death, but even as to this men have their fancies and their prejudices. We believe that the saintly Italian Passionist priest who baptised Newman hoped his end might come at his work ; and certainly another saintly priest also a Passionist, Father Ignatius Spencer, the zealous apostle of prayer for England, hoped, as his own choice, that he might die in harness and with swift blow ; and, interestingly enough, Father

Dominic died on a railway platform, and Father Ignatius fell by the wayside alone. Cardinal Newman's death, however, was happily otherwise. He fell asleep peacefully in that home he so dearly loved, and of which he spoke so touchingly when last he came back to it after a brief sojourn in Rome; with his brethren—of one of whom it has been said that he was "more to the lonely celibate than a begotten son"—around him to comfort and to pray; at peace with the outside world, having outlived its misunderstandings, its anger and resentment for his acts and words of an earlier time; with many old and long disrupted friendships re-formed in the warmth of a pleasant evening of life, and with the echoes still lingering in the air of those acclamations of love and esteem which, both within and without the Church, rang like music around him as he came back to Protestant England an English Cardinal, universally beloved, respected, honoured—could there have been an ending to life very much more to his heart's wish? Still more, perhaps, as to its inward and spiritual aspect was it such as he had hoped for. In one of those beautiful sermons in his "Discourses to Mixed Congregations"—"the first work," he said, "which I publish as a Father of this Oratory of St. Philip Neri"—he wrote, now more than forty years ago:

O my Lord and Saviour, support me in that hour in the strong arms of Thy Sacraments, and by the fresh fragrance of Thy consolation. Let the absolving words be said over me, and the holy oil sign and seal me, and Thy own Body be my food, and Thy Blood my sprinkling; and let sweet Mary breathe on me, and my Angel whisper peace to me, and my glorious Saints, and my own dear Father smile on me; that in them all, and through them all, I may receive the gift of perseverance, and die, as I desire to live, in Thy Faith and in Thy Church, in Thy service, and in Thy love. (Discourse vi. "God's Will the End of Life.")

Surely his end was even as he had prayed; and his soul is already, as we trust, *within* those gates, to reach to which he had asked his friend to pray:

That I may find the grace,
To reach the holy house of toll,
The frontier resting-place.

To reach that golden palace gate,
Where souls elect abide,
Waiting their certain call to heaven
With Angels at their side.

In such direction go our thoughts in the first days of bereavement and mourning. As Catholics we cannot but seek and find consolation in the remembrance of his Catholic life and virtues. With gratification, and with gratitude also to the Father of

mercies, do we linger over the story of how, long ago, he departed from friends and associates, from studies and interests, and from that Oxford which had so long been his home, when "the word of the Lord came to him as it did to Abraham of old."

It is a joy, as it is a lesson, to recall how humble he was; how absorbed in the great act when, daily he offered the tremendous Sacrifice at the altar of God; how as the end drew nigh, and he could no longer celebrate daily Mass, he found his consolation in telling his beads, refreshing his soul in the contemplation of the mysteries of Our Lady's rosary. By such remembrances is he linked to the affections of Catholics who never knew his face or heard his voice, more closely than he could ever have been for merely his intellectual gifts, or his splendid writings, or even for his tender heart, transparent truthfulness, and chivalrous honour.

Forty-five years ago this October, the grace of conversion came to him. The "Kindly Light" showed him the vision of Rome, the Jerusalem of the new covenant exactly at a time midway in the span of his earthly pilgrimage, in the maturity of his powers, in the stability of manhood, with the ties and associations of a lifetime formed and entwined round his heart in an abundance that might well have been itself taken for a divine benediction. Was the light now a "kindly" one? Not apparently perhaps; but with a faith even as that of Abraham Newman followed it. How touching those words which he wrote in 1871 as to the great step of his secession from the Anglican communion, showing as they do his spiritual instincts, and the fidelity of his soul to God's inspirations.

"As to your question," he wrote to a lady correspondent, "whether if I had stayed in the Anglican Church *till now*, I should have joined the Catholic Church at all, at any time now or hereafter, I think that most probably I should *not*; but *observe*, for this reason, because God gives grace, and if it is not accepted He withdraws His grace; and since of His free mercy, and from no merits of mine, He then offered me the grace of conversion, if I had not acted upon it, it was to be expected that I should be left, a worthless stump, to cumber the ground, and to remain where I was till I died."

Words these which also suggest how strong all those ties and feelings held him, that if not broken while the spirit of the Lord was upon him, would have held him triumphantly when left to himself. But "I have not sinned against the light," he said in 1833, trying to assure himself, thus, that he should not yet die. Certain do we feel that to the end, he never sinned against the light: *Et lux perpetua luceat ei, Domine!*

Of the "in memoriam" literature which we have placed at the head of these remarks, we need say very little by way of explana-

tion. The books and articles there named, form but a fraction of the studies of Newman or the tribute to his memory, which since his death, have abounded in book, magazine, and newspapers everywhere. We have taken a few of the more important ones by Catholics, not as disparaging or underestimating the others, but because these are more likely to be the ones our more distant readers will look to us to mention at the present time.

The Bishop of Clifton's funeral oration, even deprived of the emotion visible in its delivery, reads admirably. Simple in its language, but full of admiration for the subject of it, and of kindly appreciation, it gives a brief sketch of his career, and a touching reference to some of his good qualities and virtues. The Bishop had long known the late Cardinal, and had, as he mentions, served his first Mass in the chapel of Propaganda, Rome, on Corpus Christi day, 1847; and he was competent to speak of his life as a Catholic. His Lordship made a good point in quoting from the well-known sermon "Christ on the Waters," the fine description of the Anglo-Saxon character when transformed by Grace, to apply it as the best panegyric of the Cardinal himself.

The Almighty Lover of Souls looked again, and He saw in that poor forlorn and ruined nature . . . what would illustrate and preach abroad His grace if He took pity on it. He saw in it a natural nobleness, a simplicity, a frankness of character, a love of truth, a zeal for justice, an indignation at wrong, an admiration of purity, a reverence for law, a keen appreciation of the beautiful and majesty of order—nay, further a tenderness, and an affectionateness of heart which he knew would become the glorious instrument of His high will, illuminated and vivified by His supernatural gifts.

A somewhat fuller sketch of the life of the Cardinal is Dr. W. Barry's "Outline," which appeared a few days after his death as the *Tablet* leader, and is now reprinted and published in the C.T.S.'s penny series. Suffice it to say that it is an excellent brief sketch. We shall presently quote a sentence from it which will serve as a specimen of the style in which it is written. Of the magazine articles which we have named on our list, Mr. Meynell's, as one would anticipate, is full of admiration for his subject, brightly written, and with plenty of illustrative reference. One characteristic paragraph will show its style, and also what it contains deserves to be recorded:

Beautiful were the tributes which Newman's death elicited from the conspicuous pulpits of Anglicanism, and most affecting to Catholics; but some of the preachers strangely misunderstood their man when they hinted, as Canon Knox-Little did, that Newman would never have left Anglicanism in 1845, had he foreseen how many Roman collars would be worn, how many beards be shaved off, how many "celebrations" be talked about, and confessions

heard in the Establishment in 1890. Why, the Arians in their day had Bishops, and Masses, and organisation as perfect as that of the orthodox; but it was with Athanasius, that Newman ranged himself while still an Anglican, and it was precisely the parallel he found between Anglicans and Arians, or Donatists, that brought him at last from Oxford to Birmingham.

It was, in truth, to the Canon Knox-Littles that he addressed himself when he said: "Look into the matter more steadily; it is very pleasant to decorate your chapels, oratories, and studies now, but you cannot be doing this for ever. It is pleasant to adopt a habit or a vestment; to use your office-book or your beads; but it is like feeding on flowers, unless you have that objective vision in your faith, and that satisfaction in your reason, of which devotional exercises and ecclesiastical appointment are the suitable expression. They will not last in the long run, unless commanded and rewarded on Divine authority; they cannot be made to rest on the influence of individuals. It is well to have rich architecture, curious works of art, and splendid vestments, when you have a present God; but, oh! what a mockery if you have not. If your externals surpass what is within, you are so far as hollow as your Evangelical opponents, who baptise, yet expect no grace. Thus your Church becomes not a home, but a sepulchre; like those high cathedrals once Catholic, which you do not know what to do with, which you shut up, and make monuments of, sacred to the memory of what has passed away."

Mr. Lilly's paper in the *Fortnightly*, has the unique recommendation of containing a number of Cardinal Newman's letters, all addressed to Mr. Lilly himself. Mr. Kegan Paul's thoughtful and beautifully written study, in the *New Review*, seems to be the outpouring of very deep personal feeling, and is tinged with pathetic solemnity. The writer's own recent reception into the Catholic Church, a result which he apparently attributes to the influence of one whom he addresses as "dear and honoured Master and Father," may account for this. It is a brief but very suggestive paper, to be especially recommended.

The October number of *Merry England* is devoted exclusively to the late Cardinal, and is by far the best record of his life which has yet appeared. It forms an excellent *memoir pour servir*, and there is a wonderful amount of matter in it— anecdotes, letters, reminiscences, &c.—and, as though "John Oldcastle's" descriptions were not pleasant and graphic enough, there are some admirable photographic illustrations and a *fac-simile* of "Lead, Kindly Light." One of these interesting photographic views is of the last resting-place at Rednal, another is of St. Mary the Virgin, at Oxford, where Newman preached those wonderful sermons, and two other views show us the Birmingham Oratory and the interior of its church. There is

still another view worth naming ; we have not seen it elsewhere. It is a photograph of the " row of five or six small cottages of one story " which formed the historic " Littlemore," whither Newman retired after the publication of " Tract 90," and where, having written the " Essay on Development " to the point where it abruptly breaks off, he was received into the bosom of the Catholic Church. We feel tempted to quote from Mr. Oldcastle one beautiful trait of the last earthly days of the Cardinal, for which we fancy we are exclusively indebted to him :

The end came at last quickly. There had been little illnesses ; and the failure of strength was so apparent that it seemed as if a breath or a movement would extinguish the faint spark. On one of these days he asked some of the Fathers to come in and play or sing to him Father Faber's hymn of " The Eternal Years." When they had done so once, he made them repeat it, and this several times. " Many people," he said, " speak well of my ' Lead, Kindly Light,' but this is far more beautiful. Mine is of a soul in darkness—this of the eternal light."

There remains for us only to call attention to a new and cheap edition of the " Apologia," which the publishers have opportunely brought out at a moment of special public interest in it. " The boldest and most touching of modern religious biographies," as Mr. Kegan Paul styles it, is destined to live. It will ever remain, as the Cardinal intended (on his side and from his standpoint) it should—a book of final appeal. It is his own deliberate revelation of his spiritual and mental history, of his herculean efforts to defend the " Via Media," of the failure, and of its consequences. He had been the Athanasius of the Oxford Movement. But at Littlemore he was called on to act a still more noble rôle : to pay heroic tribute to Truth, by confessing before the world that the principles he had fought to defend were themselves a mistake, and by going over to seek admission into what had hitherto been to him, as it was to them, the camp of the enemy. It was a giant's effort too ; though it may seem to Catholics so very easy a matter. The English Protestant public failed to see the reason of it ; later on they even suggested that he, now that he had grown familiar with the Roman camp and had moved behind the scenes, himself regretted it. Repeatedly he protested that he had " never had one doubt " as a Catholic, that he had been " in perfect peace and contentment," but to little result : it was still supposed that he *must* regret Anglicanism. Then he wrote what apparently could not be mistaken or misinterpreted :—

I have not had one moment's wavering of trust in the Catholic Church ever since I was received into her fold. I hold, and ever have held, a supreme satisfaction in her worship, discipline, and

teaching; and an eager longing, and a hope against hope, that the many dear friends whom I have left in Protestantism may be part-takers in my happiness. And I do hereby profess that Protestantism is the dreariest of possible religions; that the thought of the Anglican service makes me shiver, and the thought of the Thirty-nine Articles makes me shudder. Return to the Church of England! No! "The net is broken, and we are delivered." I should be a consummate fool (to use a mild term) if, in my old age I left "the land flowing with milk and honey" for the city of confusion and the house of bondage.

Dr. Barry remarks in his "Outline" that it took ten years to bring Newman into the Church, and that, therefore, "it may well take a century or two to bring the nation." However, very shortly after the last quoted vehement denial of one species of insincerity, the opportunity of reaching the ear of the British public came to Newman. Kingsley's charge of untruthfulness was the providential means. Newman, as Dr. Barry puts it, "was allowed to speak, and his countrymen listened."

They listened to the *Apologia pro vita sua*.

With regard to the three papers which follow in our own pages, we should like to be allowed to thank both Father Stanton, of the Oratory, and Father Lockhart for allowing us to trespass on their busy hours to pen, and that hurriedly, the very interesting reminiscences they have sent us of those early days when they were among Newman's disciples. Father Lockhart had the glory of "leading the way" and his prior submission to the Church was the immediate reason of Newman's resigning his pastorate at St. Mary's. Father Stanton was one of the two, Father F. S. Bowles being the other, who were baptised and received with Newman. We cannot refrain from quoting "John Oldcastle's" account of the reception; we believe our readers will forgive us the long extract, if only Mr. Oldcastle himself will accept our acknowledgments and do likewise.

These three, "the Vicar" and the two disciples, entered the curious chapel on Thursday afternoon, October 9, 1845, and stood in a line together. Function there was none; and Ritualism hid her face. The bowl of Baptism was of domestic, not of ecclesiastical pattern; and all else was of a tale. Then Father Dominic gave a little address, saying his *Nunc Dimittis*. Dalgairns and St. John went into Oxford, to the primitive Catholic chapel—St. Clement's—and borrowed from the old priest, Father Newsham, an altar-stone and vestments, so that Father Dominic might say Mass the next morning—the first and only time at Littlemore. At the Mass the neophytes received their first Communion. The fervour of Father Dominic, when he made his thanksgiving, greatly impressed the converts, who had not been accustomed in Anglicanism to see so

much emotion in prayer. One little incident may be recorded as almost comic. On the evening before their reception into the Church, Father Dominic went into the chapel with the catechumens and recited Office with them. But when they came to the record of how St. Denis, after his martyrdom, put his head under his arm and walked about, Father Dominic cried "stop," and skipped it over. He thought such legends might be a difficulty to beginners, but he did not know his men; for who was more familiar with miracles and the authority assigned to them than the author of those Essays which had made Macaulay exclaim: "The times require a Middleton!" In truth the neophytes were rather scandalised at *him*, and not at it.

We do not know what grounds the writer of this passage had for making this last reflection, but it is probably just enough,—if a man of Father Dominic's character *did* cry stop. But the reflection leads us to remark how the legends of the saints had been but a few years before a wonderfully real crux to the writer of Tract 75. That Tract was written by Newman to set before his fellow clergy the general excellence of the Breviary services, and to claim "whatever is good and true in them for the Church Catholic in opposition to the Roman Church, whose only real claim over and above other Churches is that of having adopted certain additions and novelties"—"apocryphal legends of saints" he goes on to call them, which "were used to stimulate and occupy the popular [mediaeval] mind." Even after he had disabused his mind of the idea that Rome exalted our Lady to the disparagement of our Lord (which came about in 1842, as he tells in the "Apologia"), "it was still a long time," he says, "before I got over my difficulty on the score of the devotion paid to the Saints; perhaps, as I judge from a letter I have turned up, it was some way into 1844 before I could be said fully to have got over it." In the Offices at Littlemore *orel* had been substituted for *ora* where invocations of the saints occurred, we believe up to that very day when the Office of St. Denis and his companions was recited with Father Dominic. Let the scandal, however, have been which way it may, it is interesting to note Newman's affection for the Breviary as early as the year 1836, and whilst he was at the same time denouncing the "Roman corruptions" of it. That Tract 75 is noteworthy as a specimen of his talent as a translator, a subject which, so far as we remember, has not yet engaged the critics. In it he gives an English version of an ordinary Sunday Office, at length; and his verse renderings of the hymns "Nocte surgentes," "Te lucis ante terminum," and the others, which have since become so familiar, were, we imagine, written for this occasion. His version of the Confiteor is curious:

"I confess before God Almighty, before the Blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael, &c., and you my brethren, that I have sinned too much in thought, word, and deed. It is my fault, my fault; my grievous fault. Therefore I beseech, &c.

He then goes on to translate the lessons, hymns, and special antiphons of the Offices for the Feast of the Transfiguration, and for the Feast of St. Lawrence, deacon and martyr. This part of his task having been faithfully done, even as to the obnoxious antiphons of Our Lady, the writer relieves his Protestant soul by a proceeding at which one cannot help smiling. He adds "a design for a service on March 21, the day on which Bishop Ken was taken from the Church below!" The lessons of the second Nocturn are a life of Ken, and those of the third, on the Gospel (Luke xxii. 25-30), are taken from Jeremy Taylor; and there are hymns, original presumably, but *no prayer!* The translations given by Newman of these Antiphons of Our Lady, which he says "are quite beyond the power of any defence," will be found interesting, as indeed is the whole of this singular Tract. Here is the Alma Redemptoris Mater and the Salve Regina, the latter of which the curious may like to compare with the recently authorised version of the Manual of Prayers:

ALMA REDEMPTORIS MATER.

Kindly Mother of the Redeemer, who art ever of heaven
The open gate, and the star of the sea, aid a falling people,
Which is trying to rise again; thou who did'st give birth,
While Nature marvelled how, to thy Holy Creator,
Virgin both before and after, from Gabriel's mouth,
Accepting All hail, be merciful towards sinners.

SALVE REGINA.

Hail O Queen, the mother of mercy, our life, sweetness, and hope, hail. To thee we exiles cry out; the sons of Eve. To thee we sigh, groaning and weeping in this valley of tears. Come then, O our patroness, turn thou on us those merciful eyes of thine, and show to us, after this exile, Jesus the blessed fruit of thy womb. O gracious, O pitiful, O sweet Virgin Mary.

To return, however, from this digression, and to bring these hasty lines to a conclusion, it will be observed that Father Lockhart's paper is followed by one from the pen of a non-Catholic writer. We willingly give space to Dr. Hayman's eloquent tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead. He was never, we believe, a disciple of the Cardinal, but had listened to him in the pulpit of St. Mary's, and knew and revered him. We do not suppose that it will surprise any one to find that to

some excellent Anglicans Cardinal Newman's career as a Catholic was one of perplexing obscurity; but they may be led by the metaphor of the "noble swan frozen in" to conclude that Dr. Hayman is one of those, and there have been not a few at any time in England, who, in Exeter Hall language, would accuse "Romanism" of being intellectual suicide as well as spiritual doom. We, on our part, do not believe Dr. Hayman means anything of this latter kind, but refers, even when he says "frozen in," to the fact that Newman, as a Catholic, led a life of retirement and inactivity, which, in contrast with his Anglican work, seems obscurity. Perhaps it is perplexing to many that Newman was never sent to Oxford, or, for example, never made a bishop. But apart from these unrealised possibilities, which cannot and need not here be discussed; we may refer to a widespread sentiment which has fastened on the popular mind, to the effect that some sort of numbness weakened his intellectual activity, and arrested his spiritual growth and usefulness. Now, as to the first, we should say that the answer is sufficiently suggested in Newman's own metaphor of his case—"it was like coming into port after a storm." Distinctly has he since explained of himself that he could write only under the stimulus of outward emergency. There was plenty of that and to spare in his Anglican days; and tracts and pamphlets, sermons and volumes flowed from his pen. There has been less of it in his Catholic days and from within; but, thanks to Protestants, there has been some. And one such instance we think rather negatives the notion of obscurity. Had Newman not a far larger audience when he wrote his "Apologia" than when he wrote Tract 90?

But we Catholics think he has accomplished one arduous work: and it has a practical and a dogmatic side. On the latter, he never lost his influence on the English public—on the contrary, it has grown with the years since his conversion—and that influence he has uniformly used to bring home to the minds of his countrymen that the claim of the Catholic Church to their obedience is consonant with the Christian dispensation, as it is both legitimate and urgent. Dr. Barry, in his "Outline" has put this forcibly:

One thing he did, with such triumphant success that it need not be done again. He showed that the question of Rome is the question of Christianity. Taking Bishop Butler's great work for his foundation, he applied to the Catholic Church that "Analogy" which had proved in the Bishop's hands an irrefragable argument. As, if we hold the course of Nature to be in accordance with reason, we cannot but allow that natural and revealed religion, proceeding as they do on similar laws and by like methods, are founded on reasons too—so,

if once we admit that in the Bible there is a revelation from on high, we must come down by sure steps to Rome and the Papacy as inheriting what the Bible contains. To demonstrate this was to make an end of the Reformation, so far as it claimed authority from Scripture or kindred with Christ and His Apostles. When John Henry Newman arrived at that conclusion and followed it up by submitting to Rome, he undid, intellectually speaking, the mischief of the last three centuries. And he planted in the mind of his countrymen a suspicion which every day seems ripening towards certitude, that if they wish to remain Christians they must go back to the rock from which they were hewn, and become once again the sheep of the Apostolic Shepherd. Cardinal Newman has done this great thing; and its achievement will be his lasting memorial (p. 31).

But not only has he watered, as it were, with his eloquence, what others might have planted in vain; but in what large measure has not God given the increase, in these our days already, through the influence of his word, of his prayers, of his example. And to have been himself, as it were, the morning-star of the "Second Spring" to his own England—would he deem twenty-five, or even forty-five years, of retirement (not of obscurity) ill spent for such a privilege? We feel reluctant to quote further, but Mr. Kegan Paul's pathetic words must speak for us, better than we can for ourselves:

Because his works have always been before the public, and because his saintly life has been known, he has continued, even in retirement, to exercise an extraordinary influence on men. "He really died long since; his work has long been over," writes one. How little they know who thus speak! No intellectual conversion in England or America has taken place in the twenty years of his retirement wherein he has not borne a part, and when converts flew as doves to the windows, his has been the hand which drew them in. There are same who have made their submission to the Church since his death, and the *amari aliquid* in their joy and thankfulness has been that they could not, in his life, tell him that he was the agent of their conversion, and ask his blessing . . .

Ah! dear and honoured Master and Father, it may be that thou knowest now how largely has that thy prayer been fulfilled, written "on the Feast of Corpus Christi," twenty-six years ago.

"And I earnestly pray for this whole company with a hope against hope, that all of us who were once so united, and happy in our union, may even now be brought at length by the power of the Divine Will into One Fold, and under One Shepherd."

2.—SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE EARLY DAYS OF CARDINAL NEWMAN'S CATHOLIC LIFE.

I HAVE been asked to put on paper my recollections of the early days of Cardinal Newman's Catholic life. As I am one of the few survivors of those who had the privilege of living in his society at that time, and, with a single exception, the only one who was present on the occasion of his reception into the Church, it is supposed that I may have many things to say which would be interesting to his friends, and tending, if it were possible, to increase the veneration in which his memory is universally held.

No doubt it ought to be so; but forty-five years is a long time to look back, or to recall the particular details of even important events, when I have no journal, and scarcely any notes to help me.

While, therefore, it is a consolation to me to offer some tribute to one whom I consider my chief benefactor in the highest order of good gifts, and I am persuaded that nothing can be more honourable to him than the bare statement of facts; still I greatly fear that what I have to say, limited as it must be to matters actually remembered, will be found to be meagre and unsatisfactory to those who look for a vivid and entertaining narrative.

It was on the 20th June, 1845, that I first went to Littlemore, on Mr. Newman's kind invitation, an invitation which he studiously withheld until he perceived the bent of my thoughts, and ascertained that I was free from all other engagements. Such was his scrupulous fear of influencing others, while he was himself in a state of uncertainty.

If I am not mistaken, Mr. Newman's house at Littlemore has already been described in print, though I do not remember when or by whom.

I may mention, however, that it consisted mainly of a row of five or six small cottages of one storey, which he had purchased, or more probably taken on lease, before they were completed, or at all events before they had been occupied. Whether according to the original plan, or by an alteration of his, the doors, with the exception of that leading to the kitchen, did not open on the public road, but on a court within. The floors were of brick, and the windows and doors those of a common labourer's cottage. At right angles to this row, and connected with it, was another building, which comprised the entrance on the Cowley Road, one or two small rooms, one considerably larger, which

may have been intended for a small barn, and beyond that another room with a chamber over it, which was the only part of the house having a second storey.

The space between these buildings and the walls which separated them from the adjoining premises, was planted with a few shrubs, and on the side of the cottages was an open verandah, protecting to some extent the doors from the wind and rain.

I was most cordially welcomed by Mr. Newman and the friends who were with him at the time. These were A. St. John, J. B. Dalgairns, and F. S. Bowles. The plan of life they followed was simple in the extreme, to the verge of austerity, but was apparently somewhat mitigated from what it had been some years before. There was no written rule, but everything went on in the same course day after day. Mr. Newman, who would allow no affectation of monastic titles, was still commonly called the vicar, as having held the parish of St. Mary, when first he began to reside at Littlemore. There were no servants in the house. A woman from the village came to do the cooking, and a boy was employed in odd jobs throughout the day. Perfect silence was observed in the house, except during the recreation in the library after dinner. The whole of the Breviary Office was said in the Oratory, though not according to the Roman calendar, and with the omission, I think, of the *Suffragia Sanctorum*, and the final antiphon of our Lady, as being expressly contrary to the Anglican Articles.

Matins were said at an early hour in the morning; and I have been told that, during the Advent of 1842, they had made the experiment of rising at midnight for this purpose, on the persuasion of Dalgairns, who had an enthusiastic admiration of the Cistercian Rule. Mr. Newman however considered that it would be imprudent to continue the practice, and it was abandoned.

Besides this, we went twice a day to the Anglican service in the village church. The morning was devoted to study in the library, some who had work in the Bodleian often going to Oxford for that purpose. Mr. Newman was known to be engaged on his work, which afterwards appeared as the *Essay on Development*, and usually devoted about fourteen hours a day to the task. Others were reading various books, but no one, as far as I know, controversial works. I remember that Mr. Newman placed in my hands the *Epistles of St. Jerome*. We took our breakfast standing in the dining-room, and some luncheon also in the middle of the day. In the afternoon it was usual to take a walk, and sometimes Mr. Newman accompanied us, and kept up a most delightful conversation; but I may be allowed to say that he walked along the road and over the commons at such a pace, as

to keep his younger companions on the trot, and almost breathless.

Dinner was at five o'clock with reading, the book at this time being some work of Blossius. Then followed recreation, as we should now call it, in the library, and tea, a most refreshing break in the long silence of the day. During that time we had the full advantage of Mr. Newman's familiar conversation, the charms of which are so well known to many. I do not think religious controversy was ever introduced, and I do not suppose that any one wished to speak on the subject. It seemed to be tacitly admitted that the time for that was past, and that prayer and quiet were the best means of co-operating with the work of divine grace. We had few visitors from Oxford. It was the long vacation, which might account for it, though I surmise there were some remaining in the University who might have been expected to call, had they not been deterred by reports or suspicions of what was likely to happen before long.

However, we frequently saw Copeland, who was serving Littlemore for the vicar of St. Mary's. Others we saw occasionally—Mr. and Mrs. Ward, already Catholics, were living at Rose Hill, between Littlemore and Oxford, but at this time we did not see much of them—Mr. and Mrs. Crawley resided at Littlemore, and we saw them sometimes, as also Mr. Woodmason and his family.

Mr. Newman was occasionally called to London, by some business or other, for a few days, and was at this time sitting, if I am not mistaken, for his miniature by Ross, which was painted for his friend, Mr. Crawley.

Thus three months passed, not unhappily, but with little variety, until, in September, I went to pay a short visit to my friends. Before returning, I wrote to Mr. Newman to tell him that I had made up my mind to seek admission into the Catholic Church, and that I had thoughts of going to Stonyhurst for that purpose. He wrote in answer, on October the 4th, to say that Dalgairns had actually been received on St. Michael's Day by F. Dominic, the Passionist at Aston, and St. John, on October the 2nd, at Prior Park; that the time had come for himself to take the same step, and that F. Dominic was coming to visit him at Littlemore, when he intended to ask for admission. He most kindly invited me to return, to be received with him, but if I could not do so, he approved of my plan of going to Stonyhurst.

This letter I value greatly, and take it to be the first distinct avowal in writing of his definite purpose. The letter which he quotes in the *Apologia*, as addressed to several friends, bears the later date of the 8th October.

I returned to Littlemore on Wednesday the 8th. St. John and

Dalgairs had come back ; Bowles was still there, and J. Walker had also come on a visit.

F. Dominic arrived late in the evening, after I had retired for the night. He was soaked with rain, as I heard—having probably travelled to Oxford on the outside of the coach—and dried himself by the fire. I have heard that Mr. Newman made his Confession, or, at all events, began it that night. In the morning, my impression is that F. Dominic went to Oxford to say Mass, accompanied by St. John, and that they returned, bringing with them an altar-stone, chalice, and the requisites for celebrating the Holy Sacrifice at Littlemore, where a temporary altar was constructed in the Oratory.

In the afternoon he heard the Confession of Bowles and myself, and the evening was appointed for the reception of the three into the Catholic Church. I have already spoken of the Oratory, but have not described it.

It was one of the cottage rooms, perhaps twelve or thirteen feet square. The window was entirely boarded up, and the walls hung with some kind of red cloth. There was a Crucifix between a pair of candlesticks on a small table or altarino, and a high branch-candlestick, to give light for reading the Office.

The ceremony of reconciliation with the Catholic Church took place about eight or nine o'clock in the evening of the 9th October, the feast of St. Denys and Companions. There were present only F. Dominic, the officiant, A. St. John, and J. B. Dalgairns as witnesses, with the three who were received—viz., J. H. Newman, F. S. Bowles, and R. Stanton. The complete rite as in the ritual was followed, with the profession of Faith according to the formula of Pius IV., and baptism *sub conditione*. The next day, the 10th, which, according to the Roman calendar, followed by the celebrant, is the feast of St. Francis Borgia, F. Dominic said Mass, and administered Holy Communion to the converts.

There was no great change in the manner of life at Littlemore, except, of course, what was involved in our withdrawal from the Anglican body. We used to go to Mass at Oxford, a walk of nearly three miles, on Sundays and Thursdays—the only days on which the chapel was opened in those times—and received the sacraments from Mr. Newsham, the resident priest. As the old chapel was in the parish of St. Clement, we were able to reach it without going through the town.

In this way the next four months passed, while we were expecting some plan for the future. Dalgairns, however, left us for Langres, on the invitation of M. Lorain, a Canon of the Cathedral, in whose house he resided, studying for the priesthood under his direction ; and there he remained till after his ordination, when he joined us in Rome. J. Walker, who was received about a week after

the rest, also stayed, and A. J. Christie, already a Catholic, came from London to visit us, but, as I think, did not permanently reside with us till we were settled at Maryvale.

One great difference, however, was that Mr. Newman was frequently absent. He went to see several of the Bishops, and visited some of the principal colleges, especially Oscott, where he received the Sacrament of Confirmation from Mgr. Wiseman, on All Saints' Day, taking the name of Mary, out of long cherished devotion to our Blessed Lady, as well as some religious houses, and a few Catholic families, with whom he had more or less acquaintance.

The result of these visits and consultations was the acceptance of Mgr. Wiseman's generous offer to place the old college of Oscott at our disposal, where we were to begin our ecclesiastical studies, expecting the course of events as to our future.

Before the end of February we were settled at old Oscott, from that time known as Maryvale, the name having been chosen, as I understand, by Christie. Besides Mr. Newman, there were St. John, W. G. Penny, Walker, Christie, Bowles, and Stanton. John Brand Morris was with us for a short time, but removed to the college of Oscott. There was an Italian priest in the house, whose Mass we attended, and who took charge of the Mission, but he lived entirely apart, and did not belong to our society.

Mgr. Wiseman undertook the general direction of our studies, and recommended us, or at least the juniors, to begin with Melchior Canus *de locis*. Now and then he and Dr. Errington would come down from the college, and instruct us in the scholastic method of disputation, as practised in the Roman schools.

It must have been in the earlier months of our residence at Maryvale that Gregory XVI., whose pontificate was drawing to a close, sent a silver Crucifix, with his blessing, to Mr. Newman, and afterwards some other devotional object through Cardinal Acton. It was either at this time, or after our return from Rome in 1848, that Mr. Francis Newman came to pay a visit to his brother. He dined with us, but I think did not stay the night.

In this way the spring and summer of 1846 passed happily and quietly; and in the enjoyment of Mr. Newman's friendship and advice we were content to wait the development of his plans for the future. Meanwhile he and some of his companions received the first Tonsure and the Minor Orders, on the Ember Saturday of Pentecost, the 6th of June.

Towards the end of the summer it was decided, by Mgr. Wiseman's advice, that Mr. Newman should visit Rome, and there wait to receive Holy Orders, and ascertain the pleasure of

the newly elected Pope as to his future course of life. It was thought best that he should be accompanied by St. John only, and that the rest should stay at Maryvale, in readiness to join them if it should be found to be expedient.

It was after the opening of the Church of St. Giles, at Cheadle, on the 1st September, that the two travellers took leave of their companions. We had all been invited to that ceremony, and Mr. Newman was staying with Lord Shrewsbury at Alton Towers for the occasion. I am not clear whether they left England immediately or not; but they travelled slowly, halting at various places by the way. At Langres they were most warmly welcomed by the illustrious bishop, Mgr. Parisis, and numbers of the clergy. They were also presented to Mgr. Mathieu, Archbishop of Besançon, and afterwards Cardinal, by whose conversation Mr. Newman is said to have been much impressed. At Milan they stayed perhaps a month, studying Italian, and there they made the acquaintance of Manzoni and others. They did not reach Rome till the end of October, shortly before the *Possesso* of Pius IX. at St. John Lateran. They took up their abode at the College of Propaganda, which was at that time under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers, who treated them with the utmost kindness and consideration, especially the Rector, the distinguished Father Bresciani, for whom Mr. Newman always professed the highest regard.

It was not long before the project of joining the Oratory of St. Philip began seriously to be entertained. It had been spoken of at Littlemore, and Mr. Newman had procured a copy of the old English translation of the "Rule of St. Philip," by Abraham Woodhead. Mr. Newman knew that the plan would find especial favour with Mgr. Wiseman, who had already more than hinted at it, and whose great devotion towards St. Philip led him to write to see his sons established in his district.

In Rome he soon perceived that it would be best adapted to his own tendencies, and the disposition of those who desired to join him, and accordingly opened the subject to Mgr. Brunelli, the secretary of the S. Congregation of the Propaganda. This prelate was greatly pleased with the scheme, and took an early opportunity of laying it before Pius IX. His Holiness expressed his warmest approbation, and that no time might be lost in carrying it out, charged Mr. Newman to call to Rome such of his friends as desired to associate themselves with him.

Thus the household at Maryvale was broken up for the time. Walker went to the college at Oscott, not being disposed to undertake the journey, and Christie returned to London. Penny and Stanton started for Rome in Lent, and were soon followed by Bowles.

As the Pope had not yet determined the place of their residence, the new comers found hospitality at the Retreat of the Passionist Fathers at the Convent of Sts. John and Paul. There they were joined by Bowles and Dalgairns, who came from France already a priest, and soon after by R. A. Coffin, who was then staying in Rome. Meanwhile Mr. Newman and St. John remained at Propaganda, where they were ordained priests by Cardinal Franzoni, on Trinity Sunday, 1847, Father Newman celebrating his first Mass in a chapel of that college on the festival of Corpus Christi.

It was the end of June before the Pope placed the little community under one roof, in the Cistercian Monastery of Santa Croce, in Gerasalemme, and appointed Father Carlo Rossi, of the Roman Oratory, to be their instructor in the Rule and Discipline of the Congregation of St. Philip. Although no time was lost, all could not be assembled till the beginning of July, and consequently the Festival of the Visitation of Our Lady was considered as the day of the first formation of the English Congregation of the Oratory, being the day on which our Founder assumed the habit of St. Philip.

At this point I must bring to a close this very hasty and meagre account of the first months of the Catholic life of the great Cardinal who has so lately been taken from us. The only credit I can lay claim to is the accuracy in the relation of facts, which I think I have secured as far as possible by submitting these notes to the revision of Father Bowles, and supplying certain deficiencies with the help of his observations.

RICHARD M. STANTON,
Priest of the Oratory.

3.—CARDINAL NEWMAN; OR, "TIS FIFTY YEARS SINCE."

AMONG the many indications marking the different phases of religious thought in England, perhaps none is more noteworthy than the way in which the death of our venerable Cardinal has been received by the English non-Catholic public. The public press, the surest test of public opinion, when all political and religious parties are agreed on any point, has spoken unmistakably its estimate of this great Catholic, and of the work of his lifetime. They have spoken of his death as a public loss,

the passing away of one of the grandest intellects of our age, worthy to be ranked with an Origen, an Athanasius, an Augustine—of a soul most lovable and tender, straightforward, honest, and truthful to conscience in all that he has done or written.

But the words of our beloved Cardinal Archbishop, spoken in the London Oratory, at the Solemn Mass of Requiem, say all this better far than words of mine.

“ If any proof were needed of the immeasurable work that John Henry Newman has wrought in England, the last week would be enough. None could doubt that the great multitude of his personal friends in the first half of his life, and the still greater multitude of those who have been instructed, consoled, and won to God by the unequalled beauty, the irresistible persuasion of his writings, at such a time as this, would pour out the love and gratitude of their hearts.

“ But that the public voice of England, political and religious, in all its diversities, should, for once, unite in love and veneration of a man who had broken through its sacred barriers and defied its religious prejudices, who could have believed it?

“ He had committed the unpardonable sin in England. He had rejected the whole Tudor Settlement in religion. He had become Catholic, as our fathers were; and yet, for no one in our memory has such a heartfelt and loving veneration been poured out. Some one (a non-Catholic writer) has said: ‘Whether Rome canonises him or not, he will be canonised in the thoughts of pious people of many creeds in England.’ This is true; but I will not therefore say that the mind of England is changed. Nevertheless, it must be said that, towards a man who has done so much to estrange it, the will of the English people was changed; the old malevolence had passed into good will.

“ If this is a noble testimony to a great Christian life, it is as noble a proof of the justice, equity, and uprightness of the English people. In venerating John Henry Newman it has unconsciously revealed and honoured itself.”

“ In the history of this great life, and of all that it has done, we cannot forget that we owe to him, among other debts, one singular achievement. No one who does not intend to be laughed at, will henceforward say that the Catholic religion is fit only for weak intellects and unmanly brains. This superstition of pride is over. The author of the ‘Grammar of Assent’ may make them think twice before they so expose themselves. Again, the designer and editor of the ‘Library of the Fathers’ has planted himself on the undivided Church of the first six centuries; and he holds the field; the key of the position is lost.”

These are great words, pregnant of meaning. They will be remembered in connection with our two great Cardinals, so long as the "History of England" is read. For they mark the last half century of England's history and of the history of religion, which is inseparable from that of the English people, in whom is so deeply rooted the natural religious instinct.

Every thinking man in England is either a believer or a non-believer in Christianity. Few profess to be indifferent on the matter. Few are disbelievers in Christianity; fewer still are Atheists. Every man, even if he is a non-believer, yet a man of some education and reflection, knows that Christianity has been the religion of all the most enlightened nations of the world for the greater part of twenty centuries, and of most of their greatest men, philosophers, statesmen, men of learning, and letters.

He knows that it began with the poor; at the first, "not many rich, not many noble, not many learned were called." But gradually it spread among the learned and the noble, who were converted through beholding the lives of extraordinary virtue and heroism even to martyrdom, of poor working men and women, the modesty of Christian virgins, many of them, both men and women, their own slaves, as most of the working-class were in those ages of Imperial Rome. He knows that it was nothing but Christianity that created Christendom, where Heathendom had lain, infecting for ages all God's fair earth, like the corrupting bones and corpses in Ezekiel's vision.

It was Christianity that bid these corpses rise and live, that breathed into the dead world the Spirit from God, the spirit of charity and of liberty. For liberty is man's conscious power of self-government, through aid of a new light and a new force, which was not in human nature before the coming of Christ. It was this new consciousness of the "perfect law of liberty," of the liberty of the children of God, which gave to every Christian an intimate sense of right, and of duty to God and to all that God had made, and to "the powers that be, which are ordained by God." It taught the right of every man to live and to possess the fruits of his toil; and in matters between his soul and God, to follow his own conscience, to be free from all human dictation in matter of religion. Such was the Charter of the Gospel, and such was the Christianity which was the creation of the Gospel, and which converted the world.

But there are some who admit all this, as historical fact, and yet say, we do not believe any longer in Christianity. If they are asked why, they will say, because Christianity, now, is not like Primitive Christianity. We could believe in that as a revelation from heaven. It proved itself by its fruits. It appealed to the people, to the working classes, to the masses of mankind. It was

the very mark of Christ's religion that "to the poor the Gospel was preached." It endured three hundred years of martyrdom, yet it conquered the world; its strength was in weakness; it could not be human, it could not but have been divine.

So reasoned the men of the Oxford movement, when they began to put out the *Tracts for the Times* in 1833, and it was the spirit of John Henry Newman that inspired that whole movement.

These men of the Church of England believed firmly in Christianity as a divine revelation, and in Christ, as "God manifest in the Flesh"—"Emmanuel, God with us." They studied the New Testament, and the Primitive Christian writers, who were the immediate disciples of the Apostles, and of their immediate successors; the writings of St. Ignatius, the disciple of St. John, of St. Irenæus his disciple, and St. Justin, the martyr. They went on to study SS. Cyprian, Cyril, Athanasius, Augustine, and the rest.

It was to this study that they were sent by the authoritative canons of the Church of England, as the best commentaries on Scripture, and the rule that the founders of the Anglican Church professed to have followed.

The men of the Oxford movement had thus formed for themselves what they believed to be the typical form of Primitive Christianity.

They turned then to compare it with the Christianity of the Church of England, and the more they contemplated the contrast, the more were they astounded and horrified at the prospect before them. They asked why was this. They did not stop at details, but went at once to the last reason of the thing.

They observed that the supreme characteristic of Primitive Christianity was an intense conviction that the Church was a divine power in the world: the visible kingdom of the God of heaven foretold by Daniel, gifted by its Divine Author with "the Spirit of truth," of which Christ had said: "I will send to you the Spirit of truth, that He may guide you into all truth, and that He may abide with you for ever;" and again, in our Lord's last words ever spoken on earth, "All power is given to Me in heaven and upon earth; go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things I have commanded you, and, behold, I am with you all days, even to the end of the world."

They turned to St. Irenæus, the disciple of S. Polycarp, who was himself the disciple of S. John, and who wrote within fifty years of the Apostles. They found there, set forth, in the most luminous manner, that Primitive Christianity adhered to the

teaching of a living body, already called the Catholic or universal Church, spread everywhere. Pagan writers like Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny have testified to this, as a fact known to all, within fifty years of the death of Christ. Of the Church, Irenæus speaks as a witness, from within, to the same fact, to which Pagan historians witnessed, from without. "This preaching and this faith, once delivered to the Apostles by Christ, the Church having received, though she be spread throughout the whole world, carefully guards, as inhabiting *one* house, as having *one* soul, and the *same* heart, and delivers down as having *one* mouth." Nor have the Churches of Germany believed otherwise, nor of Spain, nor Gaul, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Syria, nor those of the middle of the world. But, as the sun, God's creature, throughout the world, is one and the same; so, too, the preaching of the truth shines everywhere, and enlightens all men that are willing to come to the knowledge of the truth."

"There being such proofs to look to, we ought not to seek elsewhere for the truth, which it is easy to receive from the Church, since the Apostles most fully committed unto this Church, as unto a rich storehouse, all which is of the truth. For this is the gate of life; all the rest are thieves and robbers. They must, therefore, be avoided; but whatever may be of the Church, we must love with the utmost diligence, and lay hold of the tradition of the truth."

The teaching of S. Irenæus was seen to be one and the same with that of the earlier and later Fathers. I have selected his words, because they witness to the belief of the whole Church of the second century, of the Eastern portion of Christendom, of which Irenæus was a native, and of the Western portion also, for he was Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, when he wrote, and where he suffered martyrdom.

The men of the Oxford movement saw that Christians were no longer a united body, that the Protestant principle of the Bible, interpreted by each man's private judgment, had utterly destroyed all unity of doctrine, and all idea of any divine authority residing in the Church and having the power and right to say what interpretations of Scripture were right, and what were wrong. Hence the endless multitude of Dissenting Sects in England, all offshoots from the Established Church.

They saw, too, that in the Church of England, the whole power of deciding what was to be taught in that Church, was vested in the Sovereign, by Act of Parliament, and depended in reality on the varying phases of public opinion, as represented by Parliament.

It seemed to them that the only thing to be done was to appeal to the Christian public opinion of the country, and to

endeavour powerfully to act upon that. This decided them to put forward, in the "Tracts for the Times," in the clearest manner, the contrast between Primitive Christianity, and the actual Christianity of the Church of England.

It was for the same reason that Newman projected and carried out the great work of translating the principal Fathers of the early centuries.

When Newman projected the "Library of the Fathers" he had certainly not the smallest suspicion that the movement would issue, from logical sequence, from premiss to conclusion, in his obligation in conscience to become, what he would then have called, a Roman Catholic.

This comes out clearly in his "Apologia," and in his "Anglican Difficulties," and it is noteworthy, because Newman has often been accused of being a Papist in disguise. He tells us that, when he began the "Tracts for the Times," in 1833, he believed that the Church of the Roman Communion was anti-Christian and idolatrous, in fact, that the Pope was the Anti-Christ of prophecy.

In the December of the year before, he had started with his friend Hurrell Froude, and others, on a tour in Italy, and spent some time in Rome. He received no religious impressions there. He says: "We kept out of the way of Catholics throughout our 'tour.'" He went, in short, as most tourists go, with all the prejudices in which he had been brought up, and which he never doubted were a true and just view of things. He saw all things through this medium of prejudice, and came back as he had started. He says, speaking of his stay in Rome: "As to Church 'services, we attended the *Tenebræ* at the Sistine Chapel, but 'for the sake of the *Miserere*, that was all.'" He went only to hear the famous music of the Papal choir, which, as a born musician, he was able fully to appreciate. He says: "My general 'feeling was, 'All, save the spirit of man, is divine.'" He parted from his friends in Rome, and made a journey by himself through Sicily. There, he was taken dangerously ill with fever. His servant thought he would die, but he kept saying to himself: "I shall not die; I have a work to do in England. I shall not 'die, for I have not sinned against light.'" In his illness in Sicily he was visited by the priest of the place, who had heard, probably from his Catholic servant, that an Englishman was dying, and would not send for a priest. Newman was too ill to talk. He says: "I felt inclined to enter into controversy with 'him.'" But he had no thought of availing himself of his spiritual services. Referring to his Diary (June 1833) he says: "I was aching to get home. I felt I had a work to do. At 'Palermo I was kept three weeks waiting for a vessel. I began

"to visit the churches, and they calmed my impatience. I did not attend any service. I knew nothing of the presence of the Blessed Sacrament there. At last I got off in an orange-boat bound for Marseilles. We were becalmed in the Straits of Bonifacio. Then it was that I wrote the lines, 'Lead kindly light, amid the encircling gloom.'"

He arrived, at last, at Oxford about the second week of July. He writes: "On the following Sunday (July 14) Mr. Keble preached the 'Assize Sermon' in the University pulpit. It was published under the title of 'National Apostacy.' I have ever considered and kept that day as the start of the religious movement of 1833."

It was now that the work began, on which he had been ruminating during his journey and his illness, when he said: "I have a work to do in England. I shall not die; I have not sinned against the light."

Lead kindly light, amid the encircling gloom

Lead thou me on.

I do not ask to see the distant scene,

One step enough for me.

"One step" was clear to him. It was to act, as we have said above, on Christian public opinion, and, if possible, bring back England to the truth, unity, and fervour of Primitive Christianity. The means he devised for this end was principally the "Tracts for the Times," and the "Translations of the Early Fathers." Another most important instrument was placed in his hands—the parochial pulpit of St. Mary's University and parish church, of which he had been appointed Vicar. Newman's beautiful series of historical sketches called the "Church of the Fathers" was published for the same end. He says: "The 'Church of the Fathers' is one of the earliest productions of the movement, and appeared, in numbers, in the *British Magazine*, being written with the aim of introducing the religious sentiments, views, and customs of the first ages of the Church into the modern Church of England."

The translation of Fleury's "Church History" was also projected, and intended, to make English Churchmen familiar with the history of the early councils of the Church, of the controversies on which they pronounced definitive judgment, and by which the creeds used in the Anglican Church were framed; and developed, in order more fully to define the "faith once delivered" by the Apostles, and thus to meet each new attack of rationalising heresy. Thus the work progressed from 1833 to 1841. Of this time, Newman writes: "So I went on for years up to 1841. It was, in a human point of view, the happiest time of my life."

" We prospered and spread. . . . The Anglo-Catholic party (as it is called) suddenly became a power in the National Church, and an object of alarm to her rulers and friends. . . . It seemed as if those doctrines were in the air, and that the movement was the birth of a crisis rather than of a place or party. In a very few years, a school of opinion had been formed, fixed in its principles, indefinite and progressive in their range; and it extended itself into every part of the country. Nay, the movement and its party-names (Puseyite, Newmanite, Tractarian), were known to the police of Italy, and to the backwood-men of America. . . . And so it proceeded, getting stronger and stronger every year, till it came into collision with the nation and the Church of the nation; which it began by professing, especially, to serve."

The "Tracts for the Times" and the "Library of the Fathers" obtained a wide circulation, and formed a school in the Church of England. They may be said to have, in a sense, created the present Church of England. For very few Churchmen would now deny that Christianity is essentially connected with a visible Church, which, at least in General Council, would be infallible. The claim of every Churchman is, that the Church of England is a part of the Catholic Church of the days of SS. Irenæus, Cyprian, and Cyril, and the rest.

They avoid thinking of their separation from the rest of Christendom, under the "Tudor settlement" of the Church of England, by law established and by authority of Parliament, as a National Church. They have no theory of the Visible Unity of the Church, which fits in with the visible fact of disunion, and they take refuge in words which, if they mean anything, have reference only to the invisible Church, which Catholics also admit, but in which they would charitably include every soul that is right with God, dissenters of all shades, and possibly even some Pagans, according to the teaching of the great Jesuit theologians, such as De Lugo, Suarez, and others.

But to return to our narrative. Several important public events brought out more and more clearly, in the minds of Newman and of those who acted with him, the absolute *Erastianism*, or complete dependence on the State, of the Church of England. The Whigs were in office; Liberalism in religion was in the ascendant. The appointment of Dr. Hampden, one of the leading clergy of the Liberal or Broad Church school, suspected of Arian or Socinian leanings, to a bishopric, against the vehement protest of the University of Oxford and of many of the bishops, showed this complete servitude to the State, and to the Prime Minister of the day, who happened to have a majority in the House of Commons.

Then came a project of the Government, to which the bishops assented, to establish, in concert with Prussia, an Anglican bishop at Jerusalem, who was to rule over Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans, and to hold communion, if they saw their way, with Nestorians, and Eutychians—heretics condemned by the General Councils, by which the Anglican Church, in her canons, professed to be bound. An Act of Parliament was passed to enable the Archbishop of Canterbury, by royal authority, to consecrate this bishop. The Archbishop consented, saying, as he had said in the case of Dr. Hampden, that he had no authority against an Act of Parliament and the royal supremacy over the Church.

This had the effect, as it were, of a *revelation* on the men of the Oxford movement. They began to see more clearly that the Church of England was, by its very constitution, simply a department of the State, and they saw moreover that this condition of things in the Church of England had continued all along, ever since the false step taken in the sixteenth century, when the English sovereign, with the full consent of the bishops, and by Act of Parliament, made himself head of the Church, and through his Law Courts, "in all causes ecclesiastical as well "as civil, Supreme." A few years later, after Newman had left the Church of England, this same servitude of the Established Church to the State was brought out, even more clearly, in the decision of the Law Courts, in the *Gorham case*, by which the doctrine of regeneration in baptism was made an open question in the Church of England. It was this *revelation* of the Royal Supremacy in matters of doctrine and discipline that led to Newman's secession, and to that of his immediate disciples. It was the *revelation*, in the *Gorham case*, that was the immediate cause that led to the submission to the Church of Archdeacon Manning, and of those who, like the Wilberforces, Hope Scott, and a host of others, became Catholics about the same time as our Cardinal Archbishop. It was he who, at that time, said: "The Gorham case is a *revelation* to us; it has opened our eyes to the false step made by the Church of England under the Tudor settlement." When some were deliberating what to do, whether to submit to the Pope, or to form a *Free Church* of England, independent of the State, it was Manning who spoke memorable words. "No," said he, "three hundred years ago we "left a good ship for a boat; I am not going to leave a boat for "a tub."

1 However, in 1841, the leaders of the movement had not got so far as to think of leaving the Church of England. They still hoped. Newman writes: "I thought that the Anglican Church "was tyrannised over by a mere party." Their hope was that they might be able gradually to influence the Christian public opinion

of the country, and draw it to a desire of returning to *Primitive Christianity* and the *Church of the Fathers*. \

They did not then see that the Catholic Church is the Visible Kingdom of God upon earth, essentially one, and visibly united in its Head, the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, whom Christ had made the centre of unity, and placed on that "chair of truth," against which He had declared "the gates of hell" should not prevail against it."

Newman, eminently, and for long years, had made the history of the early centuries of Christianity the matter of his profound study. We, his disciples (for I came under the influence of his mind about 1839 or 1840) were directed by his writings into the same line of study. We knew that the Fathers, St. Athanasius, St. Leo, and the rest, whom we took as trustworthy witnesses of the faith of the Primitive Church, were the chief agents in preserving the Church from Arian, Nestorian, Eutychian, and other errors, especially by means of the General Councils, which expressed the infallible authority of the Church; and we saw that if it had not been for the perpetual indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the Church, it would have been impossible for the faith to have been preserved, amidst the revolts of rationalising Christians, Alexandrian Platonists, and Jews and hair-splitting Greek Sophists.

But we saw no less clearly that the Church of England had become little more than a department of the State, and that it had helplessly abdicated all claim to an independent judgment in all matters of religious faith.

We perceived also, gradually, and were helped to see it, through Newman's supereminent knowledge of ecclesiastical history, that the Bishop of Rome had always been the supreme agent in keeping the whole Church united; in the Councils, also, he always had held the most prominent place, as well by his legates who presided, as by his sanction of their decrees; which were considered binding on the whole Church, only when they had received his approval.

Moreover, the more we read these early Christian writers, the more clearly did we see that, besides the doctrines which the Church of England held in common with Rome, nearly every doctrine which the English Reformation had rejected, was held to be part and parcel of the Christian faith by those authorities of early Christianity—I mean such doctrines as the Real Presence and Sacrifice of the Mass, so clearly taught by St. Clement of Rome, who speaks of the "Eucharistic Offering to God," which has succeeded to the oblations at the altar in the Old Law. St. Ignatius, of Antioch, again says, speaking of certain heretics, "They abstain from the Eucharist and the Oblations, because

"they do not confess that the Eucharist is Flesh of our Saviour "Jesus Christ, the Flesh which suffered for our sins, which the "Father in His mercy raised again," &c. St. Justin, the martyr, and St. Irenæus, are equally explicit. Well do I remember the first time when, at Oxford, I read these and many similar testimonies, in the "Library of the Fathers," especially a long passage in the "Catechetical Instructions" of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in which he says that the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, as truly as the water was changed into wine at the marriage of Cana in Galilee.

In short, we became convinced that, on these doctrines, as also on those of purgatory, prayers for the dead, the honour due to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and our right to ask their prayers, and last but not least, on the authority of the Pope; or as St. Irenæus calls it, "the superior Headship of the Church, founded "at Rome by SS. Peter and Paul, to which Church all Churches "and all the faithful in the whole world were bound to have "recourse, or to be united with it in communion," the ancient Church and the Church of the Roman communion were substantially agreed.

These studies had led many of us to think seriously, that it might be our duty at once to make our submission to the Catholic Church, which we saw had its centre at Rome, and, as it would seem, was by divine institution, head of the visible Church.

Newman was not as yet convinced that the Roman supremacy over all Churches was a matter of divine institution. He thought it was in the mind of our Lord, in His words to Peter, as the normal condition of the Church; but he then supposed it was only *indirectly* of divine, but was *directly* of ecclesiastical institution. It was only in 1844, when he had reviewed all his studies, throughout more than fifteen years, of the Fathers and the Councils, and of the whole course of ecclesiastical history, that in the course of writing his "Essay on Development," he came to the conclusion that the supremacy of the Pope was the key-stone of the arch, and that it was his own indispensable duty in conscience, to submit himself to the Roman obedience.

Thus, as I have shown, a fundamental revolution had been taking place in our idea of the Church, and of Christianity. For the first time, the vision of the world-wide Church, in its majestic unity, had come before us. We saw it, for the first time, not as we had supposed it to be, an aggregate of congregations—a voluntary union of spiritual families, but as a world-wide essentially united kingdom—the Kingdom as shown to the Prophet Daniel, like to a stone cut from a mountain without hand, set up by the God of heaven, which was to be gradually developed until it became a mountain filling the whole earth, destined to last

for ever. Of this world-wide Church, we know the Church of England was once a portion. How it could form any part of that unity, since its separation 300 years before, we could not see.

From the moment that we were convinced that the charges against the Roman communion, of being idolatrous, anti-Christian, and the rest, had been answered, they were completely banished from our minds. The fact that it formed the vast majority of Catholic Christendom, necessarily took away the chief ground of our Protestant position. Sides were changed; we saw that we had to defend our *protest*, or else yield to the authority we had protested against.

But Newman and others of our leaders had not, as yet, come to this point. They thought Rome was right in claiming the headship of the Church; but they also considered that a legitimate claim may be pushed too far. They reflected that there had been abuses in the Papal relations with England, in old times, demands for large money payments, and for the grant of the incomes of English Bishoprics and other rich benefices, in favour of Italian ecclesiastics, which had been a grievance in old times, against which English Catholic sovereigns had uniformly protested.

These, and other things had led, first to a coolness on the part of the English towards Rome, in Catholic times, and this had grown up, especially, during the days of the anti-popes, when rival Pontiffs each claimed the obedience of Catholics, and the justice of the claim of each was so open to doubt, that England embraced the obedience of one Pope, France and Scotland of another, and Spain at one time owned the authority of a third claimant. In fact, the contention between the popes and anti-popes was, to a great extent, a battle of rival nationalities.

Such historical difficulties, and many others, helped to complicate the question, and the result was that the most of us resolved to stay by Newman; doubting the soundness of our own conclusions to which, with far greater knowledge, he had not arrived.

Three of us younger men, however, went off, and were received into the Catholic Church; and it is somewhat singular that these three men were Scotsmen, Johnstone Grant, of St. John's College, now a Jesuit; Edward Douglas, of Christ Church, now a Redemptorist; and his friend Scott-Murray, squire of Danesfield, deceased. I was soon to be another Scotsman added to the list. I suppose our coming from Jacobite and Scotch Episcopalian stocks, and not being so rooted as Englishmen are, in favour of everything English, left us freer to criticise and condemn Church of England Christianity.

Our secession was decided by several things: The publication by Newman of *Tract 90*, the object of which was to show that

there was no need to go to Rome, because we found nearly all Roman doctrines were taught in the Primitive Church, although rejected or neglected by the Church of England; because the 39 Articles were not articles of faith, but an attempt at compromise. They were intended to include Puritans, and Catholics who were ready to give up the Pope. This confirmed our growing convictions—our disgust with the Church of England was all but complete, and it only increased this disgust, if it could be shown that her founders had deliberately ventured to obscure the old religion, by what Newman had called “the stammering words of ambiguous formularies.”

The *Tract* made a great stir throughout the University and the country; but, as every one knows, the interpretation of the *Articles* was furiously repudiated by the Anglican bishops, and by the Protestant public-opinion of the country. The bigotry and intolerance of the Puritan party was stirred to a white heat. Newman saw that his attempt to find terms of reconciliation, and to speak of the creed of Rome, as substantially identical, differing only on minor points, from Primitive Christianity, with which the Anglican Church professed to agree—had failed. But the truth has proclaimed itself trumpet-tongued throughout the English-speaking world.

It has in our day come to be admitted by all. It is now, I think, twenty years, since I copied the following passage from the *Saturday Review*, no friend, as we know, to Catholics, nor to the Catholicising movement in the Church of England: “The distinctive principle of the English Reformation was an appeal to Christian antiquity, as admirable, and probably as imaginary, as the ‘Golden Age’ of the poets. The era of the Protestant Reformation was before the age of accurate historical criticism. The true method of historical criticism was as yet uncreated, and it is not too much to say, that, whatever accurate knowledge we now possess of the Church of the first centuries, has been obtained within the last fifty years, and that a better acquaintance with the remains of antiquity has convinced us that many doctrines and practices, which have been commonly accounted to be peculiarities of later Romanism, existed in the best and purest ages of Christianity.”

No one could ignore Newman’s part in this remarkable change in public opinion, and in the historical judgment of educated men of whatever creed, or of no creed at all. It is this which Cardinal Manning expresses, when he says: “The designer and editor of the ‘Library of the Fathers,’ has planted himself on the undivided Church of the first six centuries of Christianity; and he holds the field. The key of the position is lost.” The old Anglican claim to hold a *via media*

on the basis of Christian antiquity, between Catholic Christendom on the one side, and Protestantism on the other, has been for ever exploded.

The second thing which hastened my submission to the Catholic Church was the reading of a Catholic book, Milner's "End of Controversy." Some years before I had taken the book away from my friend Johnstone Grant, to whom it had been given by a Catholic priest in London. I rated him soundly for reading a Catholic book, told him he had no more right to read it, than to study a Socinian or Infidel book. The book lay in my drawer in college.

Newman's sermons and Pusey's writings, on baptismal grace and post-baptismal sin, had wrought in me a moral revolution, and a terrible fear that I had lost God for ever. I saw myself a baptised Christian and, therefore, once a temple of God. But through the sins of childhood and of thoughtless youth, reduced to a state in which I could not doubt that I had lost the grace of God, and my soul had become a dwelling-place of devils. Anglican theology taught clearly, in its Prayer Book and Catechism, almost as clearly as it is taught in the Catholic Catechism, that souls are regenerated in Baptism. But it tells of no other Sacrament by which sins committed after Baptism may be remitted. At that day, no one thought of proving the belief of the Church of England in the Sacrament of Penance, Confession, and Priestly Absolution, from the few words about the absolving power in the Anglican *ordination service*, and in that for the *visitation of the sick*. Any one who wishes to do so, may find the doctrine there. I had never heard of it, until, in an hour of deep mental distress, I turned over the pages of *Milner's End of Controversy*. There I first heard of the Sacrament of reconciliation after post-baptismal sin, and it was *Milner* that sent me to the Anglican Prayer Book, for proof that the Church of England admitted, in theory, the same doctrine on this point, as had always and everywhere been, not only taught, but practised in the Catholic Church.

This discovery was a great relief to my mind, but it did not increase my confidence in the Church of England. There were the "stammering words of ambiguous formularies" once more. What was to be said of a Church which had so obscured a divine ordinance for the remission of sin—a Sacrament therefore, by its own definition; to quote the words of the Catechism: "A Sacrament is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given to us; ordained by Christ Himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof."

Here then was a Sacrament, so necessary for salvation, which

had practically fallen into complete disuse in the Church of England for 300 years!

It was difficult to try Confession in the Anglican Church. However, I made the attempt, as at least a moral discipline. Archdeacon Manning, whom I knew, was in Oxford, for it was his turn to preach the University sermon. I went to Confession to him in Merton College Chapel, his own college. It was a relief to me for a time. He also gave me excellent advice, and, I think, counselled me to put myself under Newman, and try to remain and take Orders in the Anglican Church. I tried to do so. I was admitted, by Newman's great kindness, as one of his first companions at Littlemore. I remained with him about a year. The life was something like what we had read of in the "*Lives of the Fathers of the Desert*"—of prayer, fasting, and study. We rose at midnight to recite the Nocturnal office of the Roman Breviary. I remember, direct invocation of Saints was omitted, and, instead, we asked God that the Saint of the day might pray for us. I think we passed an hour in private prayer, and, for the first time, I learned what *meditation* meant. We fasted every day till twelve, and in Lent and Advent till five. There was some mitigation on Sundays and the greater festivals. We went to Communion at the village church and to the service there, morning and evening, every day; we went to Confession every week. Once after Confession I said to Newman, "Are you sure you have the power of giving absolution?" He paused, and then said in a tone of deep distress, "Why will you ask me? Ask Pusey." This was, I think, in the spring of 1843. It was the first indication I had received that Newman had begun seriously to doubt his position in the Anglican Church. I see from his "*Apologia*" that his doubts, as to whether the Church of Rome was not altogether in the right, and the Church of England wholly in the wrong, had taken root in his mind about that time.

I had promised him, soon after going to Littlemore, that I would stay three years. He had made it a condition. I gave the promise, but after a year I found it impossible to keep it. With great grief I left my dear master, and made my submission to the Catholic Church. My secession led to Newman's resigning his parish. His last sermon, as an Anglican, was preached at Littlemore. It is entitled "*The Parting of Friends*." He thought he was compromised by my act, and he was much displeased with me for breaking my promise.

After two years, he and his other companions at Littlemore were received into the Church.

We left the Church of England with grief. All the good we knew, we had learned there; we had been led step by step by

God's grace, but we left, because we could not close our eyes to the fact that the Church of England was no part of a Visible Church; rather than separate from which Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, and hundreds of others have laid down their lives in martyrdom.

Almost the first thing Newman did after his reception into the Church was to take the trouble to come all the way to Ratcliffe College, in Leicestershire, where I was studying, to see me, in order to show that he blamed me no longer. A year after I was ordained priest I went to see him, when he was living in community with Father Faber, Dalgairns and others at St. Wilfrid's in Staffordshire. They had all been ordained. I remember he *would* serve my Mass, as an act of humility and affection. Since that time I have always paid him an annual visit at the Oratory, Birmingham, where he always received me with the most cordial affection. When I first went to Rome, as representative there of my Order, that of the Fathers of Charity, founded by Rosmini, he gave me, as Cardinal, a letter to the Pope. This introduction has been, for the last eight years, of immense service to me in Rome.

Soon after Easter of this year I paid him my last visit. He sent for me to come to him, before he rose in the morning, saying that after dressing, he might feel himself too much exhausted to receive me. I found him weak, weak indeed, in body, but as bright and clear in mind as ever. I told him news from Rome which I knew would interest him. He listened with all his old intensity of thought; fully appreciated the facts and the situation of matters ecclesiastical and political.

I knelt down; took his hand, and kissed it. I felt sure I should not see him again. I thanked him for all the good he had done me, since, under God, he had been, as I hoped, the instrument of my salvation. I asked his blessing, which he gave me with great earnestness, simplicity, and tenderness. Three months later I stood by his bier.

O, great and holy soul, remember us with God, and may our prayers and masses avail to thine eternal rest and peace.

WILLIAM LOCKHART, B.A. Oxon.

4.—CARDINAL NEWMAN: OUR LOSS, AND NOW OUR GAIN.

A TRIBUTE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ANGLICANISM.

WHY should we mourn for him? Rather, our period of mourning is over. It had lasted long, and the snapping of the last frail link of earthly life has now reunited us to him in a more intense and inseparable bond. Death has not built up, but removed the partition. He who is thus given back to those who loved and honoured him, sheds spiritual influence in a wider sphere than could be commanded from the retreat at Littlemore, or the Oratory at Birmingham. The Master in Israel renews his presence to his bereaved disciples. He seemed awhile a star of far-off ray, he now fills an orbit of nearer splendour.

His work, as a whole, cannot be duly estimated, even by the standards of time, until a longer period has elapsed. As with all great men who were greatest in the region of thought, its probate is deferred. But his character and personality are an heritage of immediate value. That *mitis sapientia* which takes the sting from controversy; that innate nobleness which touches with something of its own lustre all who approach it, because it has first quenched every spark of self-seeking; the severe logic, ascetically dry, four-square and analytical; the rich imagination which deals contrariwise in largely integrated and highly rounded forms; the heart of love which ever gives its best and grudges not, which robs of austerity the hard mechanism of intellect, and oils every valve of human intercourse—all these were met in him, and live not in memory only, as a mere picture on the dead wall of the past, but as a living study of an eye undimmed—of that single-eyed faith which sees all things from an undisturbed focus, and finds its standards of judgment in the pure ideals of holiness.

But we have around us that chorus of Babel, the sectaries of all denominations, striking for once the unwonted note of concord and harmony, as a tribute to something in the man which has penetrated them. What can that be, for his saintliness was not of the type familiar to them? It is probably the man's unalloyed genuineness which compels their homage. The inward and outward wholeness of sincerity, which formed the grain of his character, pillars itself aloft over their heads like a monolith of crystal, and has a self-luminous power which draws all eyes. In their homage to that, their differences are for a moment hushed.

A great spirit passing on its way, laying down the shell of mortality, and paying that tribute to the perishable, which all both small and great must pay, strikes a deep chord of human sympathy. But this is common to statesmen, warriors, and world-ruling magnates—to Wolsey and Richelieu. But then there comes in the spiritual power which fascinates even the least saintly, whose lines were the furthest removed from its ruling principle. Let men waste themselves as they will on a thousand trifles; there is that in a consistent sacrifice of all secondary ends to one primary, and that the highest known, which shows by contrast as a diamond amidst paste imitations. Each bubble-chaser holds his breath and bows the head with awe at the glimpse of a great truth lived through to the end and emphasized by death. Worldly discords are hushed in a throb of genuine feeling, which unifies for a moment the thoughtful part of humanity with the thoughtless, as the seal of completeness is set on a great example of self-devotion.

The fascination of John Henry Newman lay in what he was; more in the open book of his own life than in the volumes which he wrote, and the deep things which he taught. From any stirring share in human affairs he had long ceased; but there remained, after all that he did was done, that which he *was*—indelible, as powerful in his quiet life-haven at the Oratory, as it had been when he was the foremost figure in theological strife—nay, sweeping a wider radius of influence now than it could do then; for then it was by circumstances limited to the few who knew and loved the man, but now it circles round the world wherever moral forces are acknowledged, as it were on a tide-wave of emotion. He became so popular because he had always lived above popularity. Not that he disdained it, for his moral mould was too large for the littleness of disdain, but took it as a homage, not to himself, but to the truth for which he lived. Lord Bacon's adage, that the multitude pay homage readily to the commonplace virtues, while the highest of all obtain from them the rarest recognition, was in his case reversed. Few men of our or any day have lived their principles so thoroughly; but, beyond this, he had the threefold power which perceived those principles by intuition, impressed them by ratiocination, and stamped them upon others by his character. His own record of his struggles shows that his charming harmony of various tones was not reached at once, and the "Kindly Light," whose leading he invoked, came gradually on his path.

Even those who had least sympathy with the deeper essence of his nature were struck by the mental and moral symmetry which marked its workings, the masterful yet graceful strength of his controversial attitude, the directness of point, yet needle-delicacy

of touch, the force of matter and courtesy of manner—in short, the thoroughbred style which expressed the man, and made it impossible to him to execute a clumsy movement, or give an unfair blow. Refined natures only would appreciate that chivalry of strength, most forcible when sympathizing with weakness; and that shrinking from all that soils the surface where all within was sensitively pure, which mark the gentleman by nature. In some secondary points, especially in the fine interplay of æsthetic qualities, in the genuine *timbre* of all the lighter notes in every chord, he often reminds one of Charles Lamb.

Where a life has reserved nothing in its self-sacrifice, there is less need and less consciousness of reserve in human intercourse. Hence the perfect affability of Newman, the readiness with which he replied to, and the graciousness with which he acknowledged, the respectful approaches of his juniors. The large heart seemed always open; and he who had outlived all his contemporaries found still troops of friends around him, and a crowd of disciples who knew him at second or third hand only, and yet felt as distinct a fascination of his reality as though some electric band united them with those who had sat at his feet at Oxford forty years ago. The following example of his accessibility is among many which can be personally guaranteed. One of these disciples of the aftergrowth, shortly after Newman's elevation to the Cardinalate, wrote, enclosing a copy of a theological serial, containing an article against infidelity, founded in part on a passage in one of the "Plain Sermons" of half a century previous, with due acknowledgment of the source. But finding the publication was disfigured by an advertisement, illustrated in a rather broad style, and founded on the passage in one of the "Ingoldsby Legends," where a

Nice cake of soap,
Worthy of washing the hands of the Pope

is presented for "the Cardinal" to perform his ablutions, the writer tore it out for the waste-paper basket. Cardinal Newman replied with mingled suavity and gravity—appreciatively as regards the article, but adding the remark that he "failed to perceive the relevancy of the illustration accompanying it," which he therewith re-enclosed. In which, to his horror, the correspondent recognized the offending abomination which he had devoted to the uses of the scullery-maid. What he had intended exactly to exclude he had in fact included, and placed, by inadvertent haste in closing for post, in the same envelope with his own letter! He of course wrote a modest apology explaining the oversight, which drew again a gracious reply.

But although thus flowing with the milk of human kindness,

there was a period when he could on occasion be savage. In the soreness of heart which beset his last days of Anglicanism, he seems to have greeted with a growl any of either side of old friends or new who offered to approach too near. But this very soreness was but the anguish of the then impending wrench from the comradeship of early years.

Had it not been for this deep vein of tender feeling, allied closely to a sensitive scrupulosity of conscience—had it not been for the shock which he foresaw among the ranks where he had been a loved and trusted leader, and for the ties of attached veneration which he personally felt for old friends, old attitudes of devotion, old habits of life and thought, interwoven in him with all the subtle delicacy of the nerves with the muscles in the human frame, the change which was consummated at Littlemore in 1845 would have come to pass some years sooner. The subject is a solemn and a tender one. He shall speak for himself here :—

My difficulty was this: I had been deceived greatly once; how could I be sure I was not deceived a second time? I thought myself right then; how was I to be certain that I was right now? How many years had I thought myself sure of what I now rejected? How could I ever again have confidence in myself? As in 1840, I listened to the rising doubt in favour of Rome; now I listened to the waning doubt in favour of the Anglican Church.

How closely this state of mind illustrates the often-quoted lines of Shakespeare :

Between the acting of a dreadful thing
And the first motion, all the interim is
Like a phantasma or a hideous dream.
The genius and the mortal instruments
Are then in council; and the state of man,
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection.

For he continues :

As far as I know myself, my one great distress is the perplexity unsettlement, alarm, scepticism, which I am causing to so many; and the loss of kind feeling and good opinion on the part of so many, known and unknown, who have wished well to me.

And yet again :

How much am I giving up in so many ways! and to me the sacrifice is irreparable, not only from my age, when people hate changing, but from my especial love of old associations and the pleasures of memory. Nor am I conscious of any feeling, enthusiastic or heroic, of pleasure in the sacrifice; I have nothing to support me here.*

* "Apologia," ed. 1890, pp. 228-9.

So long as a mere machine is duly wound, the pendulum will oscillate for ever ; but every oscillation of the ripe fruit upon the bough brings nearer the moment when it drops away ; and Newman seems to have been matured intellectually for his change before he was so morally. Had he been more rigidly a man of logic, and less a man of feeling, Oxford and the Anglican position would have seen the last of him much earlier in the forties.

Of the actual change—of the very moment when he had planted his foot on the turn-table at last—a deeply interesting anecdote has lately found its way to light ; although the letter which is its voucher has unluckily perished. That letter, one of several written in a similar tenour to a few select friends,* was addressed to Dr. Pusey, as follows :—

My dearest Pusey,—Before this reaches you all will be over. Father Dominic, who is on his way to a Chapter in Belgium, will be here this evening, and will, I hope, receive me into what I believe to be the Church of St. Athanasius.

The last phrase is not absolutely certain. "The Church of St. Athanasius, or something of that sort," was the expression used by the narrator, to whom Dr. Pusey passed on the letter, inscribed in pencil in his own hand with *κύριε ἐλέησον, χριστὲ ἐλέησον, κύριε ἐλέησον*. The narrator added, "Poor Pusey was so badly hurt, that he had no wish to see the letter again, so he sent it to me, telling me that I might keep it." This narrator was the late Rev. Thomas Henderson, for many years vicar of Messing in Essex, who was born shortly before the century began, and was thus senior to and intimate with Dr. Pusey. He told it to his sometime curate, the Rev. Martin Rule, from whose letter in *John Bull* of Sept. 20, 1890, I extract this account.

The letter of Newman, which at the time, Mr. Henderson could not lay his hand upon, but was anxious to recover and show, with no doubt a view to its preservation, was, after his sudden death a few days later, actually found among his papers *and burnt*. This precipitate act deprives us of the means of actual verification, and prevents Mr. Rule from speaking with the authority of one who saw the letter. The rash destroyer, however, recognized enough of the character and contents to confirm Mr. Henderson's statement, especially the fact of a memorandum added by a different hand.

The keystone of the Cardinal's intellectual structure seems to me to have been a sense of the objectivity of the highest truth. I mean, ever since his mind broke at Oxford into freedom from the *πατροπαράδοξα*. His early continental tour, and the turn which his personal intimacies took, in John Keble and Hurrell

* *Ibid.* pp. 234-5.

Froude, and conversely his dropping away from Whately and Hawkins, are so many indices of his mind settling down in this direction. It is true that he adopted first one and then another interpretative aspect of that objectivity; but to that idea itself he held fast with a fundamental tenacity from about 1831 onwards. All sacrifices made for truth, and the correlative idea of moral duty in holding fast by truth, imply this.* For how can a man feel that "I ought" comes in, when hardship, loss and pain are to be suffered for a mere subjective tenet, or how distinguish it from the various *idola speciei* which form its surroundings? Thus, with Newman, the objectivity of truth, however it might take a colour from the receiving mind, yet moulded that mind by the pressure of its form; and in this will, I think, be found the kernel principle of his "Grammar of Assent," the most winnowed thought-product of his mind.

At his earlier period this objectivity, I think, extended itself to the region of politics—*i.e.*, he seems to have held that there were certain relations existing as of right, because objectively true, between the citizen and the body politic. His comments on the expulsion of Charles X. in France, his dislike of O'Connell, and his detestation of the French tricolour, are examples. Writing in 1853, he seems rather to view constitutional relations as the expression outwardly of certain deeply implanted racial germs, which expand through maxims and public sentiments into institutions, which may or may not harmonize with objective truth. He shall speak for himself.

As individuals have characters of their own, so have races. Most men have their strong and their weak points, and points neither good nor bad, but idiosyncratic. And so of races. . . . Moreover growing out of these varieties or idiosyncrasies, and corresponding to them, will be found in these several races, and proper to each, a certain assemblage of beliefs, convictions, rules, usages, traditions, proverbs and principles; some political, some social, some moral; and these tending to some definite form of government and *modus vivendi*, or polity, as their natural scope. . . . This then is the Constitution of a State, securing, as it does, the national unity by at once strengthening and controlling the governing power. It is something more than law; it is the embodiment of special ideas, ideas perhaps which have been held by a race for ages, which are of immemorial usage, which have fixed themselves in its innermost heart, which are in its eyes sacred to it, and have practically the force of eternal truths, *whether they be such or not*. . . . They are the expression of some or other sentiment of loyalty, of order, of duty, of honour, of faith, of justice, of glory. They are the creative

* "No one, I say, will die for his own calculations; he dies for realities."
 "Essay on Secular Knowledge as a Principle of Action," written 1841.

and conservative influences of Society; they erect nations into States and invest States with Constitutions.*

The few words which I have italicized, show that the writer by no means considered a constitution (however true, as a development, to some innate germ), as necessarily an expression of objective truth; and I suppose he would have considered this as tending to limit its authority.

It was but fair to take a glance at his political utterances, however secondary in their interest to the absorbing principles which shaped his career. Besides which, Newman was an intense Englishman. He knew his countrymen in their *forte* and in their *foibles* as few professed divines have cared to know them, and could hit them off with that fine point and that mordant acid, which formed his etching style. Here is a John Bull sketch, founded on a reminiscence of Sir Walter Scott's "Two Drovers."

He is indeed rough, surly, a bully and a bigot; these are his weak points: but if ever there was a generous, good, tender heart, it beats within his breast. Most placable, he forgives and forgets; forgets not only the wrongs he has received, but the insults he has inflicted. Such he is commonly, for doubtless there are times and circumstances in his dealings with foreigners in which, whether when in despair or from pride, he becomes truculent and simply hateful; but at home his bark is worse than his bite. He has qualities, excellent for the purposes of neighbourhood and intercourse; and he has besides a shrewd sense and a sobriety of judgment, and a practical logic which passion does not cloud, and which makes him understand that good fellowship is not only commendable, but expedient too. And he has within him a spring of energy, pertinacity and perseverance, which makes him as busy and effective in a colony as he is companionable at home. Some races do not move at all; others are ever jostling against each other; the Englishman is ever stirring, yet never treads too hard upon his fellow countryman's toes. He does his work neatly, silently, in his own place; he looks o himself and can take care of himself; and he has that instinctive veneration for the law, that he can worship it even in the abstract, and thus is fitted to go shares with others all around him in that political sovereignty which other races are obliged to concentrate in one ruler. . . . Some races are like children, and require a despot to nurse and feed and dress them, to give them pocket-money, and take them out for airings. Others, more manly, prefer to be rid of the trouble of their affairs, and use their ruler as their mere manager and man of business. Now an Englishman likes to take his own matters into his own hands. He stands on his own ground, and does as much work as half-a-dozen men of certain other

* "Who's to Blame? States and Constitutions." Reprinted from the *Catholic Standard*. By "Catholicus."

paces. He can join too with others, and has a turn for organizing, but he insists on its being voluntary. He is jealous of no one, except kings and governments, and offensive to no one except their partisans and creatures.

Then, with a glance at our Anglo-Indian Empire, he continues:—

Pass a few years and a town has arisen on the desert beach, and houses of business are extending their connections and influence up the country. At length a company of merchants make the place their homestead, and they protect themselves from their enemies with a fort. They need a better defence than they have provided, for a numerous host is advancing upon them, and they are likely to be driven into the sea. Suddenly a youth, the castaway of his family, half clerk, half soldier, puts himself at the head of a few troops, defends posts, gains battles, and ends in founding a mighty empire over the graves of Mahmood and Aurungzebe.

The following (continuing the same line of thought) might almost have been written by Thackeray:—

The Englishman is on the top of the Andes, or in a diving bell in the Pacific, or taking notes at Timbuctoo, or grubbing at the Pyramids, or scouring over the Pampas, or acting as Prime Minister to the King of Dahomey, or smoking the pipe of friendship with the Red Indians, or hutting at the Pole. A people so alive, so curious, so busy as the English, will be a power in themselves, independently of political arrangements; and will be, on that very ground, jealous of a rival, impatient of a master, and strong enough to cope with the one and repel the other. A government is their natural foe, they cannot do without it altogether, but they will have of it as little as they can. They will forbid the concentration of power; they will multiply its seats, complicate its acts, and make it safe by making it inefficient. They will take care that it is the worst worked of all the many organizations which are found in their country. As despotisms keep their subjects in ignorance, lest they should rebel, so will a free people maim and cripple their government, lest it should tyrannize. . . . England surely is the paradise of little men and the purgatory of great ones. May I never be a Minister of State or Field-Marshal! I'd be an individual, self-respecting Briton, in my own private castle, with the *Times* to see the world by, and pen and paper to scribble off withal to some public print and set the world right. Public men are only my *employés*; I use them as I think fit, and turn them off without warning. Aberdeen, Gladstone, Sidney Herbert, Newcastle, what are they muttering about services and ingratitude? Were they not paid? Hadn't they their regular quarter-day? Raglan, Burgoyne, Dundas—I cannot recollect all the fellows' names—can they merit ought? Can they be profitable to me, their lord and master?"

Admire the delicacy, again, of the following stroke:—

At the public meeting held to thank that earnest and energetic man, Mr. Maurice, for the particular complexion of one portion of his theology, a speaker congratulated him on having, in questioning or denying eternal punishment, given (not a more correct, but) a "more genial" interpretation to the declarations of Holy Scripture.

As a theologian, the force which he puts forth was probably nothing as compared with his reserves. He never shows that dead hand which marks the treatise-maker, but whatever truth he recognizes quickens under his touch. Probably no man ever passed through so momentous a shock, especially in the years of the judgment's maturity, unhinging the allegiance of half a lifetime, with so little of change in his own personality. We of that earlier allegiance naturally prefer the mental products of that earlier period. They seem to us to contrast with the later growth, as the fruitage of the open air and sunshine contrast with those of a hothouse, and have more of the unforced aroma and native *bouquet*. The "Plain Sermons" are still a great storehouse of holy wisdom, and probably nine-tenths of their contents are irrespective of the line of cleavage which separated him from us later and remain unaffected by it. Here is a sample from "Christ Manifested in Remembrance," vol. iv. p. 263, ed. 1869.

Kings of the earth, and the great men and rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men," who, in their day, so magnified themselves, so ravaged and deformed the Church, that it could not be seen except by faith, these are found in nowise to have infringed the continuity of its outlines, which shine out clear and glorious, and even more delicate and tender for the very attempt to obliterate them. It needs very little study of history to prove how really this is the case; how little schisms, and divisions, and disorders, and troubles, and fears, and persecutions, and scatterings, and threatenings, interfere with the glory of Christ Mystical, as looked upon afterwards, though at the time they almost hid it. Great Saints, great events, great privileges, like the everlasting mountains, grow as we recede from them.

Or take, from the same volume, p. 218, on "The Greatness and Littleness of Human Life," the following:—

Over and above our positive belief in this great truth [a future life], we are actually driven to a belief; we attain a sensible conviction of that life to come, a certainty striking home to our hearts and piercing them, by this imperfection of what is present. The very greatness of our powers make this life look pitiful; the very pitifulness of this life forces our thoughts to another; and the prospect of another gives a dignity and value to this life which promises it; and thus this life is at once great and little, and we rightly condemn it while we exalt its importance.

For chastened fervour, for unaffected solemnity, clearness of didactic outline, and pathetic earnestness of exhortation, one must go a long way back in the annals of the Anglican pulpit to find him surpassed. To the congregation of St. Mary's, Oxford, he was specially adapted by its higher degree of culture, and by the academic sympathy between the University and the higher grade of professional and other minds having secular relations with its members. Besides these, not a few members of the University itself, especially among the rising juniors, the youth of devotional mettle and promise, filled places there, and raised the standard of capacity in the audience. From the time of Simeon and Bishop Wilson (Calcutta) to the middle of the century was such an era of sermons as had hardly been known since the Restoration in that Church which was then restored. The average length of parochial discourses was probably greater then than before or since. I need not dwell on causes, but merely state facts. The religious fashion of the day thus gave him exceptional advantages; and being at once a man of mark, and as the breeze of controversy blew to a gale, a marked man, he used them with an impressiveness only strengthened by all that was known of a personality transparently sincere and devoted. Thus, although lacking the electric fascination which holds an audience by a spell woven of matter and manner, of voice, gesture, eye, and nervous sympathies, and tinging the pulpit with something of the lecture-room, Newman grew into the hearts and minds of his habitual hearers with a power which was more felt after his sermon than during the course of it, and depended rather on the unsluiced stream of afterthought than the momentary inundation of eloquence.

After recording our preference for the freshness and naturalness of the earlier Newman as against the later, it is only fair to set beside it the following verdict of a writer in the *Tablet*, on the other side :—

Newman's Anglican writings are clear and cold ; when he became a Catholic it was like going into a southern atmosphere, all glow and sunshine ; his nature expanded, his eloquence took fire, and the passionate energy which had been seeking for an object found it in preaching the visible kingdom of Christ.

So let the question rest—*laudabunt alii*, &c. Each will probably prefer the earlier or later vintage, according as his own standard of taste has been previously formed. But taking the estimate of the *Tablet* as expressing a fact and implying a value, what astonishes Anglicans most in the later career of the Newman of their early memories is that so little use was made of such a master mind by those at whose disposal he had placed its fully

matured powers. He had not yet reached his "grand climacteric" when he left us. His position on the whole since then has been one of perplexing obscurity to all who felt what a power they had lost in him. Of the Anglican Church it is unhappily true that it hardly owns its greatest men, does not know what to do with them, feels them rather an excrescence on its system, and an incumbrance to the working of its machinery, as if a diamond had got into a grist-mill—in this respect how truly national!—*teste* Newman in the above words, "the paradise of little men, the purgatory of great ones." We honestly thought that Rome knew better, and eminent authorities are not wanting who extol her wisdom in that respect. The practical appreciation evidenced in the utilization of a convert so richly endowed with various gifts does not tend to confirm that opinion. *Tandem aliquando!* was on the lips of most of us, when we heard that the Cardinal's hat had dropped on him. He reminds us of some noble swan, which, after a long sojourn on *terra firma*, find its way to its proper element at last, and is straightway frozen in.

As regards his style, Newman was so purely classical because he was so unpedantic. His mind never runs in the ruts of familiar phrase. There is now and then a direct allusion to, seldom a quotation of, the great masters of Greece and Rome. But his writings exhale the aroma of their influence at every pore. It is impossible to draw this out without going through, as it were, the process of distillation over again. I will only refer to one instance of the often unconscious influence exercised by the grandest models of mental form on a sympathetic genius, because I am not aware that it has yet been noticed. The entire attitude of his mind in the preface to his "Apologia" is that of Socrates in the famous "Apology" of Plato. To exhibit this in detail would be tedious trifling. I will just detach a specimen flower:

It is this which is the strength of my accuser against me: not the articles of impeachment which he has framed from my writings, and which I shall easily crumble into dust, but the bias of the court. It is the state of the atmosphere; it is the vibration all round which will echo his bold assertion of my dishonesty; it is that prepossession against me which takes it for granted that, when my reasoning is convincing it is only ingenious, and that when my statements are unanswerable, there is always something put out of sight or hidden up my sleeve, &c. &c.

To those who remember the parallel complaint of Socrates against the established prejudices which filled and poisoned the popular mind of Athens against him, Platonic quotations would be superfluous here, and to others unmeaning.

Questions of style often lead to such startling comparisons as have the effect for the moment of caricatures. I venture to com-

pare him, then, with Dean Swift in some of the main intellectual elements which constitute style; more especially in the balance of logical against imaginative endowments, and in the absence of mere rhetorical declaration. In Swift the two more interpenetrate one another: as it were two charges in one gun-barrel; in Newman they are like parallel tubes, each detonating separately, but guided by a single sight. Had Swift possessed the moral elevation and spiritual fervour of Newman, then, allowing for the disparity of their centuries, he would have written as Newman wrote. For "proper words in proper places," they are, I think, the two greatest masters of English prose which the two centuries have seen, and that mainly by virtue of the balance of qualities above referred to. But, "Cousin Swift you will never be a poet," said Dryden to his aspiring kinsman. Our Newman, however, *was* a poet. I will cull from his own "Gerontius" a single blossom to throw upon his grave—

O man, strange composite of heaven and earth,
Majesty dwarfed to baseness! fragrant flower
Running to poisonous seed! and seeming worth
Cloaking corruption! weakness mastering power!
Who never art so near to crime and shame,
As when thou hast achieved some deed of name.

Those who remember the noble sonnet of Wordsworth, beginning—on a theme borrowed from old Bede—

Man's life is like a swallow, mighty king,

or that splendid stanza of Byron which comes upon us in "Don Juan" like a meteor flashing out of swampy slime—

Between two worlds life hovers, like a star
'Twixt night and morn, upon th' horizon's verge.
How little do we know that which we are!
How less what we may be! &c.

may hang this of Newman's beside them as worthy to form a triptych.

His tale of years all but spans nine decades of this nineteenth century, as did that of John Wesley before him of the eighteenth; with whom again, especially in his earlier career, he has not a few points in common. Each sought to trim to larger and more lustrous life the waning lamp of spiritual religion. Each began his work in Oxford, and led a band of the more finely tempered spirits there. Oxford, *felix prole virum*, claims each as an *alumnus*. Each grew in his respective century to be its most typical specimen among our native theologians, each became a centre of partisan strife, and each unwillingly. Wesley's strong reverence for and study of the early Church, his longing to

strengthen by some of its most saintly and serviceable usages the Anglican system as he knew it, and his recalling the Thirty-nine Articles from their popular Calvinistic interpretation, mark him as a labourer in the same quarry as Newman, albeit he left the deeper strata unsearched. But Wesley's mind was essentially prosaic and practical, with no visionary glimpses. He "asked no angel's wing, no seraph's fire," whereas Newman bodied forth the unseen. His lyre indeed has few notes, but they are sweet and pure and lofty. Faith, hope and charity, piety and reverence, are the lines of the stave on which they hang. He knew his own compass and never overstrained it. Few since Dante and Milton have aspired to kindred themes, and fewer still have not singed their wings in soaring up to them.

Is he realizing the dream of his own "Gerontius," into which he has now passed—finding it all "true which was done by the Angel," and no longer deeming "that he saw a vision,"* *ὁὐκ ὄντα* . . . ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἡδὲν,† and filling up those outlines of symbolic mystery which he draws in the words:

Thou livest in a world of signs and types,
The presentations of most holy truths,
Living and strong, which now encompass thee.
A disembodied soul, thou hast by right.
No converse with aught else beside thyself;
But lest so stern a solitude should load
And break thy being, in mercy are vouchsafed
Some lower measures of perception,
Which seem to thee as though through channels brought,
Through ear, or nerves, or palate, which are gone.

I only say, if so it be, so be it. For, as St. Augustine says of a Purgatorial fire, "I will not argue against it, because perchance it is true."‡

HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

* Et nesciebat quia verum est quod fiebat per angelum, existimabat autem se visum videre.—"Actus Ap." xii. 9. † Hom. "Odys." xx. 90.

‡ Non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est.—"De Civit. Dei," xxi. 26.

Science Notices.

Photographing the Milky Way.—A striking example of the versatility, in its applications to astronomy, of the photographic method, is afforded by Mr. Barnard's proposal to employ it for charting the Milky Way. The conditions of success in this enterprise are somewhat peculiar. For the galactic accumulations cannot be printed upon the sensitive plate under the nebulous aspect which they present to the eye. The camera recognises, as it were, their composition out of minute stellar points, and refusing to depict them as luminous surfaces, takes them star by star, in all the complex detail of their intimate structure. But since each individual star is of almost evanescent faintness, a powerful concentration of light, coupled with long exposures, is needed for this purpose. Further, the characteristic galactic groupings are on a very large scale; each covers a great many square degrees of the sky; their general outlines can thus only be embraced by a comprehensive survey. Hence, a wide field of view is indispensable for obtaining a true and instructive delineation of assemblages the nature of which cannot possibly be apprehended unless through synthetic efforts demanding the co-operation of the eye with the mind.

These varied requirements are met by the use of large portrait lenses giving minute, but vivid images, and including wide expanses of the sky in a single prospect. The "Willard lens" of the Lick Observatory, with which Mr. Barnard has hitherto worked, has a focal length of rather more than five times its aperture of six inches, the field is of eighty square degrees, and stars down to the fourteenth magnitude can be depicted by exposures with it of about three hours.

It is of these excessively faint objects—which are nevertheless "suns," perhaps more radiant than our own—that the galactic "clouds" are composed. How composed—under the empire of what forces, in the course of development of what vast designs—we can scarcely as yet affect to conjecture. Across the abyss of time and space, we can barely catch glimpses of a supreme plan, varied almost to infinity in its subordinate parts, yet based, in its general scope, upon a fundamental unity of purpose. What its scope really is, we shall never fully know; but that a higher standpoint will be reached than that at which we now find ourselves, there is encouragement to hope in the gradually increasing distinctness of thought on the subject of sidereal construction, and in the definiteness of the tests now available upon certain crucial points of sidereal theory.

The three Milky Way negatives so far taken by Mr. Barnard

"open up," he truly says, "a magnificent field of investigation." The first includes the splendid cluster in Sobieski's Shield, compared by the late Admiral Smyth to a "flight of wild ducks," and exhibits it as, in some sort, the point of origin for two great luminous wings, or trains, of purely stellar constitution. Another depicts a region in Sagittarius, where a throng of stars, perceived on a cursory view to be widely *rifted* by tracks of comparative darkness, discloses to a particular examination an unmistakable tendency to an annular, or perhaps spiral, fashion of detailed arrangement; the larger stars occupying positions either focal or nuclear within ellipses or curving wreaths of minor objects. The third plate, exposed also in Sagittarius, brings out in the strangest forms of cloud-scenery, the masses of stars here composing the Galaxy. In the midst, and in the most crowded part, can be seen a "most remarkable, small, inky-black hole," frequently observed by Mr. Barnard during the progress of comet-seeking operations, but here first made photographically apparent. "It is," he tells us, in the "Monthly Notices" for last March, "about two inches in diameter, slightly triangular, with a bright orange star on its north-preceding border, and a beautiful little cluster following. There are other dark holes and vast gaps near this, but nothing so remarkable in the entire circuit of the Milky Way."

The existence of such-like vacancies is absolutely inexplicable by our present knowledge. No theory of stellar distribution hitherto advanced gives a rational account of them; nor can the suggestion that they are due to the interposition of opaque dark masses, or of meteoric swarms on a prodigious scale, be regarded as anything but a clumsy expedient for getting out of the difficulty. Their production is certainly not in any sense casual; it results from the action of laws with the purport of which we are wholly unacquainted, yet the prevalence of which, no less in star-clusters than among the thronging multitudes of the Milky Way, is shown by the "tunnelings," and obscure spaces discernible, both visually and photographically, in such assemblages as the globular cluster in Hercules, and the "bifid" cluster in Sagittarius.

A Giant Sun.—A remarkable picture of the stars in Orion taken with an exposure of no less than six hours, at the Harvard College auxiliary station in the Andes, shows most of them as deeply involved in the outlying masses of the great nebulous formation collected visibly about the well-known "trapezium." The presumption accordingly is strong, that they own some kind of physical relationship with it, and are denizens of the same sidereal district. Hence, if the parallax of any one of them could be determined, we should at once be placed in possession of some much desired but hitherto unattainable information regarding the distance from ourselves of the nebula. Now, one of the involved stars is the brightest gem of the asterism, called "Rigel" by early Arab astronomers from its position in the *foot* of the enskied Hunter; and it happened fortunately that Dr. Gill, having had this object under observation

at the Cape during two years, was able at once, on the demand of Professor Pickering, to deduce its parallax. The result of his investigation is all the more curious that it is *negative*; it tells us merely that Rigel is indefinitely further away than the two small stars with which it was compared. Sunk in an inaccessible abyss of space, in a situation where our own sun would vanish to the eye and appear insignificant with the telescope, Rigel still shines upon us with more than first-magnitude splendour! The consideration of the real lustre which, under these circumstances, must be attributed to it, is positively startling. At the lowest estimate, it must emit several thousand times the solar amount of light. Nor is it the only giant sun of our acquaintance. Betelgeux, the red star in the shoulder of Orion, Arcturus, and the southern Canopus, lie equally beyond the reach of terrestrial measurements, and are hence unquestionably bodies of immense radiative power. There is, indeed, strong reason to believe that the light-giver we depend upon is but a small star occupying a subordinate place among the "constellated suns unshaken" pursuing their "orbits measureless" through the unbounded fields of the ether.

Rigel may be said to have *no* proper motion, for the secular displacement attributed to it of little more than one second of arc may well be the creation of instrumental errors. Its extreme remoteness, however, accounts for this apparent immobility. The visual effects of the swiftest advance can be annihilated by a sufficient removal from the eye of the travelling object, which, in the present instance, is very far from being really stationary in space. It may, or may not, be moving rapidly *across* the line of sight; but the spectrograph tells us that it is journeying at a high speed *in* the line of sight. Professor Vogel's determinations of this so-called "radial" element of motion, the surprising accuracy of which constitutes them one of the most notable advances of recent times, show Rigel (provisionally, indeed, as yet) to be in course of retreat from the earth at the rate of thirty-nine miles a second, or twelve hundred millions of miles a year. They disclose besides a slight periodical change of radial velocity, betraying, it is inferred, the compound nature of the star, and its revolution round an unseen, close attendant in a period of a few days. It belongs, accordingly, to that peculiar class of binaries, the existence of which, suspected on the grounds of the recurring obscurations of Algol, has of late been spectrographically certified at Potsdam. Rigel is, besides, visibly accompanied by a small blue star, situated at an apparent interval of $9''$. and itself very closely double. So at least Mr. Burnham's observations in 1879 convinced him: although the star can now no longer be divided by the highest powers of the great telescope on Mount Hamilton. The obvious conjecture that the two components have, since 1879, closed up into one by the effects of orbital revolution, remains to be tested by future experience. The vast remoteness of the system, as demonstrated by Dr. Gill, implying its prodigious spatial extent and corresponding leisureliness of circulation, tends meantime to discountenance the

idea that any appreciable mutual change of place can have occurred after the lapse of only eleven years.

A New Variable Star.—The two shortest periods of stellar light change hitherto known belong respectively to U Ophiuchi and R. Muscae, each of which runs through its cycle in about twenty hours. But a star observed by Professor Paul, Assistant-astronomer at Washington, leaves them both, in point of expeditiousness, far behind. Normally of 6.7, "12 Antliae" dips to 7.3 magnitude—in other words, loses nearly half its light—once in seven hours and forty-eight minutes. Its variations are not continuous, but by regular recurrences, the duration of actual change being, according to one authority, three hours twenty minutes, according to another four hours fifty minutes. Thus the phases of 12 Antliae are of the particular kind exemplified in Algol, and must, as in Algol, result from the interposition at brief intervals of an occulting body. They afford one more illustration of the extraordinary variety of rapidly circling systems included in the stellar world. The satellite of Algol is large and obscure; its transits give rise to genuine eclipses, once in each revolution. But it is highly probable that 12 Antliae is made up of two nearly equally brilliant bodies, the combined radiations of which, at their "elongations," affords the full light of the star, while its minima are consequent upon occultations of one by the other. If this be so, the orbital period is twice as long as the period of luminous change, two obscurations corresponding to a single circuit of the mutually revolving suns. This cannot indeed in any case occupy above fifteen and a half hours, a period which, were it less well authenticated, might easily be set down as impossibly short; while the proportionately long continuance of the occultations implies a closeness of contiguity in the connected bodies which *seems* to infringe mechanical laws, hitherto supposed inexorable in their operation. But there is much about Algol-variables that is still unexplained, the investigation of which may lead to discoveries of great moment in cosmical physics.

A New Astronomical Society.—The demand for popular Astronomical Societies is rapidly creating a corresponding supply. Associations are springing up on all sides for the purpose of encouraging amateur star-gazers, and combining their efforts. The "Pacific Society" in California, the "Urania Gesellschaft" in Berlin, are examples of what can be done in this way by private zeal, stimulated and controlled by professional guidance. In this country, the "Liverpool Astronomical Society," of which the lamented Father Perry was president at the time of his death, discharged similar functions for some time with signal success. But it has of late been under a cloud; and although it may yet emerge from it, the feeling has become general that its work should be taken up by an organisation of a somewhat modified character. Hence the foundation, under strong patronage, of the "British Astronomical Society." The programme of this nascent body is a highly commendable one. All who take an interest in things celestial are

invited to join it, and the rate of annual subscription is fixed so low that even artisans need not be deterred, on the score of expense, from enrolling themselves among its members. It aims too at being practical as well as popular. Corporate unity will, by its means, be given to useless, because scattered observations; work will be regulated; energy and talent will be trained; above all, information will be diffused, and enthusiasm kindled. The headquarters of the new Society are in London; but meetings at provincial towns will be held as circumstances may seem to call for them.

The Brontometer.—For many years past it has been known to meteorologists, that the ordinary rule that the barometer falls for rain and bad weather, is liable to exception under the influence of thunderstorms, when the mercury sometimes rises. The curve of a self-recording barometer shows how variable these oscillations are, but it does not throw any light upon their cause, which has puzzled the ingenuity of many. The brontometer (*βροντή μέτρον*, thunderstorm measurer) is an instrument produced by the combined ingenuity of Mr. Symons, the secretary of the Royal Meteorological Society, and M. M. Richard of Paris, to record these peculiar phenomena accurately and synchronously with other thunderstorm phenomena. Thus it is hoped that new light will be thrown on the nature of these oscillations, and that their cause will be discovered. The method adopted is to provide paper revolving under recording pens at a regular rate. The rate is greatly in excess of that generally adopted in recording instruments. For observing ordinary phenomena, it is sufficient to provide an inch of paper for an hour of time (12 inches per day). Sometimes it has been found expedient to increase the speed five or ten times, but even a speed of five inches an hour does not enable any one to read closer than to quarter minutes, which would be inadequate for thunderstorm observation. Therefore, in the brontometer the paper revolves at no less a speed than six feet per hour. The width of the paper is twelve inches. In the instrument there are seven recording pens provided, which make their traces in aniline ink. Pen No. 1 is driven by the mechanism which produces the motion of the paper, and makes the "time scale." This pen Mr. Symonds informs us usually produces a stronger line to act as the base line for the measurements, but at fifty-five seconds after each minute the pen begins to go one-tenth of an inch to the left, flying back to its original position at the sixtieth second. Pen No. 2 is for measuring the wind force, and is driven by a special kind of anemometer devised by M. M. Richard. In this instrument the curved plates are made of aluminium, and are so light that the momentum is reduced to a minimum. The pens in revolving once for each metre of wind send an electric current to the brontometer, which acts on an electro-magnet, which draws pen No. 2 towards the left. There is, however, a train of clock-work tending to draw the pen to the contrary direction, the joint result being that the trace shows continuously the actual velocity of the wind second by second. Pen No. 3 is to record the intensity of

the rain. It is moved by a handle, and is set at zero or thereabouts, the idea is that the observer will be able to tell by a storm-gauge the intensity of the rain, and to register it by moving it more and more from the zero, as the fall becomes heavier. Pen No. 4 is to register the time of a flash of lightning. At the occurrence of each flash the observer by pressing a key makes the pen make a slight deviation to the right, and then fly back to zero. By reference to the "time scale" produced by pen 1, the time of the flash can be ascertained. Pen No. 5, which is similar in action to the above, records the clap of thunder. By holding down the key until the last rumbling of the clap has died away the exact duration of the clap can be ascertained. The interval between the flash of lightning and the clap can be also accurately recorded. Pen No. 6, which is similar to No. 3, records the exact moment of a fall of hail, its duration and intensity. Pen No. 7 is to record the fluctuations in atmospheric pressure which originally suggested this elaborate instrument. This portion of the apparatus seems to have offered the most difficulties to the inventor. The enlargement of the "time scale" necessitated an enlargement of the barometric scale. If this were close to the natural mercurial scale there would have to be a breadth of paper of twenty-five inches. The dilemma was got out of by adopting a modification of Richard's "statoscope." This extremely sensitive instrument gives a scale of thirty inches for each mercurial inch, and yet only takes four inches of the brontometer paper. Mr. Symons thus describes the main principles of the construction of this portion of his instrument: "As it was essential that the apparatus should record accurately to 0·001 inch of mercurial pressure, it was evident that friction had to be reduced to a minimum and considerable motive power provided. This was done by placing in the base of the brontometer a galvanised iron chamber, which contains about three and a half cubic feet of air; on the upper part is a series of elastic chambers, similar to the vacuum boxes of aneroid barometers, but much larger; when the instrument is to be put into action, these chambers are connected with the large air-chamber, and the tap closed which shuts off communication with the external air. Any subsequent increase or decrease of atmospheric pressure will compress, or allow to dilate, the air in these chambers, and the motion of the elastic ones produces that of the recording pen."

The opportunities for observation that will be afforded by the brontometer should add to present limited knowledge of a branch of of meteorology that has not yet been dignified with a distinctive name. Perhaps the fact that the instrument is called the "brontometer" may suggest for it the name of "Brontology."

The Late Aeronautical Congress at Paris.—It is fitting that it should have fallen to the lot of France, the birthland of balloons, to call together the International Aeronautical Congress that was held during the latter days of the Exhibition of 1889. The result of the Congress seems to be rather the realisation of the difficult problems that beset

the progress of *aéronautics* than their solution, which has yet to be sought in diligent, varied, and concerted experiment. The appointment of the permanent *Aéronautical Commission* in France, which consists of some eminent scientists, and which is intended to look after the interests of both scientific and professional *aéronauts*, is a first step in concerted action, and shows that the French nation is in earnest in its endeavours to be in the first ranks of *aéronautical* discovery.

A considerable portion of the Congress was devoted to the reading of papers on the principles of "Flight," but the more practical subject of "ballooning" was not neglected. The attention of French *aéronauts* has, during the last few years, been concentrated on balloon navigation, and the recent experiments of Captains Krebs and Renard, with their electrically propelled balloon, "*La France*," have proved that with our present knowledge a balloon can be navigated in calm weather though not against a wind of even trifling proportions. Fresh schemes for accomplishing *aërial* navigation were, as might be expected, forthcoming at the Congress. In answer to some of these, M. Aime suggested that the vertical motion of the balloon—a subject that has certainly been neglected—has a prior claim on public attention than mechanical horizontal navigation; many *aéronauts* will endorse this remark. It is often necessary that a balloon should rise and fall to various levels to reach particular currents. These vertical movements can only be carried on by the alternate sacrifice of gas and ballast, so the time a balloon can remain in the air is very curtailed, and our knowledge of the various currents, upon which many place their faith as the means of future balloon navigation, is thereby limited. This is certainly an imperfect state of things, and in the matter of regulated vertical motion, the now well-nigh abandoned fire-balloon was in advance of the gas-balloon, its rising and falling depending upon the amount of heat applied to the air in the balloon. A combination of the gas and fire-balloon may perhaps be the solution of the question of ascent and descent. This was realised by *aéronauts* in the early days of ballooning, owing to the comparatively small lift-power of the heated air in the Montgolfier, but the combination was so clumsily, unscientifically, and dangerously applied, that the result was a fatal accident, the memory of which seems, until very lately, to have forbidden the very idea of using fire to heat an inflammable gas in the confines of a balloon and its car. A suggestion was however made a few years ago at one of the meetings of the United Service Institution, when the subject of military ballooning was under discussion, that the hydrogen gas inside a balloon might be heated safely by means of heated air issuing up a pipe in connection with a portable lamp in the car of the balloon. This would be supplied with safety arrangements something on the principle of the Davy lamp, so that no flame could possibly extend beyond a limited area. By regulating the amount of flame in the lamp, the temperature and lifting-power of the hydrogen in the balloon could be controlled, and a nicety of ascent and descent might perhaps be

realised. This suggestion does not seem to have ever been acted upon, but it is distinctly worthy of experiment.

At the Congress, M. Alexandre Sallé urged the use of ammonia gas for filling balloons. Ammonia is of about the same density as carburetted hydrogen, and is incombustible. Hence M. Sallé thinks the Montgolfier system might be applied to it with absolute safety. It has other properties, which at first sight would seem to render it specially adapted for the purpose. It dissolves in water in the proportion of 1147 times its own volume 0° , and therefore a store of this gas might be conveniently carried in water. By heating the water the ammonia can be liberated, the water ceasing to contain it at 60° . M. Sallé suggests that the water containing the supply of ammonia would be extremely useful as ballast. Unfortunately, as M. Hureau de Villeneuve pointed out, the afore-mentioned properties of ammonia are counterbalanced by certain others, which seem to render its use for balloons prohibitive. Not only is it an irritant to the mucous membranes of the body, but it also destroys the varnishes upon which the gas-holding capacity of balloons depends. With regard to the late experiments of Captains Krebs and Renard, M. W. de Fonvielle, in the course of a speech on the value of balloons for purely scientific purposes, remarked that the horizontal control of a balloon which can be obtained by the motion of a screw worked by an electro-motor might with advantage be applied to steady balloons when they are used as aerial observatories. The top-like spinning of a balloon, even in calm weather, renders it unfit for photographic purposes. M. de Fonvielle is of opinion that the car of a balloon is the most fitting place to take photographs during an eclipse of the sun, providing that the balloon can be kept steady. In the course of the Congress two decidedly original suggestions were made by M. Brissonet. (1) He would abolish the anchor by which *aéronauts* usually make their descents, asserting that when lowered it so often fails to bite. He proposes instead a guy-rope, at the extremity of which is fastened a cord ball, such as is used on board ship to prevent the vessel hitting against the sides of the quay: at the space of two metres from this, and the same distance apart from each other, are placed a series of hempen balls. When the *aéronaut* wishes to descend, he lowers his guy-rope so that the series of balls trails along the ground. Owing to the speed of the balloon, the balls in touching the ground turn and twist round the first obstacles they meet. M. Brissonet thinks that if there is a tree or bush in the way, there are ninety-nine chances to one hundred that the balloon will be anchored securely. If this method of anchorage should prove successful, objects on the ground would be less likely to be damaged than by the sharp teeth of the anchor. To *aéronauts* the bill of damage is often heavy. (2) M. Brissonet claims to have made improvements on the cone-anchor, which is sometimes used for balloon voyages across the sea. He maintains that the management of the working of the cone-anchor is difficult, outside interferences, such as the force of the waves, often reducing its usefulness. He advocates the use of

a cable furnished with thin metal or wooden discs, strung in series on the cable thrown into the sea by the *aéronaut*. When he wishes to arrest the motion of the balloon, the discs, with a body of water in front of each, would offer a multiple resistance to the horizontal course. To overcome this resistance, and enable the balloon to continue its course, a trifling sacrifice of ballast would give the balloon a sufficient vertical impulse to jerk the discs also into the vertical, and so free them from the water-weight.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

The meeting of the British Association at Leeds this year was less interesting than on many former occasions. There were no remarkable inventions announced; no important discussion on the questions that divide scientific opinion; no exhibition (as has been sometimes the case) of curious instruments or other novelties. Still a meeting of such men as are the principal members of this great society, could not take place without eliciting from some of them much that is well worthy of record.

The President of the year, Sir Frederick Abel, is well known for his chemical researches, especially in connection with explosives intended for warlike purposes; in fact he has for many years held an important post at Woolwich as adviser of the Government; and it was not without regret that we heard him remark that his career in this capacity was drawing to its close.

His address to the Association travelled over many subjects. He alluded gracefully to his predecessor, Professor Flower; to the great men of science that had their origin in Yorkshire; and particularly to Priestley, "born within six miles of Leeds"—the discoverer of oxygen gas, and the analyser of the air.

After these preliminary observations, he passed on to the subject of electric light and the use of electric power, on which he dwelt at some length; he called attention to the wonderful development that had taken place in recent years in these applications of electricity, not omitting to allude to the great improvements effected in electric telegraphy, both on land and beneath the depths of the sea. As regards the electric light, the progress in its use, though considerable here in England, has been far greater in America; the same also may be said of the telephone, in the use of which both France and America have outstripped us. With respect to electrically transmitted energy, Sir F. Abel remarked that the first successful application of it to pumping and underground haulage work in this country was made in 1887 in the neighbourhood of Leeds, at St. John's Colliery, Normanton; and we may add that several members of the British Association took the opportunity of visiting this colliery, of which the sole proprietor is now an excellent Catholic gentleman, Mr. Warrington; the electric power is principally used for pumping water out of the pit, but it is also to be applied to a certain extent for underground haulage.

The President's address went on to touch on topics of interest connected with metallurgy, after which he turned to his own special pursuit, the choice of explosives for warlike purposes. It has been a question, as many people know, whether gunpowder or some more violent explosive should be placed in the formidable projectiles which we term shells, and which are so extensively used in modern warfare. Sir Frederick seems to think that both of these may be advantageously employed according to the species of shell; he is himself in favour of wet compressed gun-cotton as a formidable destructive agent, and one that can be applied with great safety. So also for submarine mines and torpedoes, he knows of no material equal to it in these respects.

The French have lately adopted a composition to which the name of *mélinite* has been given, and the precise nature of which has been kept a profound secret; it is said, however, to be a mixture of picric acid, with some still more powerful material. In the United States of America various devices have been suggested for applying preparations of nitro-glycerine as charges for shells. With those highly sensitive substances there is danger of premature explosion, and to avoid this risk, large guns of special construction have been invented, in which the propelling power is compressed air instead of gunpowder, but we must say that we gravely doubt the success of this experiment.

With respect to gunpowder, and the improvements in its manufacture, Sir Frederick, after explaining these, alluded to the smokeless powders that are now coming into use, and explained the nature of their composition. It appears that no powder is absolutely smokeless, but those that have been tried in France and Germany approximate so nearly to the requirements that, if used in actual war, they would change the conditions under which actions have hitherto been fought, depriving the combatants of the screening effects of smoke, often so great a protection, and, on the other hand, allowing a greater accuracy of aim.

Sir F. Abel after this alluded to the explosives employed in mines, and to the terrible risks caused by the use of unprotected lamps in these subterranean regions.

He then descended from questions of science to commercial details, dwelling on the extension of trade in petroleum, and the quantity of natural gas obtained in America and elsewhere; and concluded by touching on the proposed erection of a building for our National Science collections, and on the Imperial Institute, now approaching its completion.

Space will not permit of our entering into any great details as to the other proceedings of the Association; we will, however, select some points of interest from the addresses of the presidents of the various sections.

Mr. J. W. Glaisher, who presided over the Mathematical and Physical Section, took for his theme his own favourite study of pure mathematics, and endeavoured to answer the question sometimes put

by the unsympathetic objector, "To what is all this tending? What will be the result of it all?" He concluded by some remarks on the theory of numbers, and took as an example of a "simple result in the theory of forms" the proposition that every prime number, which when divided by four leaves a remainder of one, can be always expressed as the sum of two squares, one of the truths which, as he correctly says, must exist in *rerum natura*—that is, if we take, for instance, thirteen or seventeen marbles or pebbles, we can always arrange them so as to form two squares. The proof of this is very difficult, but any one who likes to try may convince himself of its truth by taking an indefinite quantity of such numbers, one after the other, and making the experiment, remembering, of course, that the square of one is itself one.

Mr. Glaisher is a son of the celebrated aéronaut, who, at the age of eighty was present at the meeting of the Association, apparently in sound health of mind and body.

The President of the Chemical Section, Professor Thorpe, took for his subject Dr. Joseph Priestley (already alluded to by Sir F. Abel), and vindicated his claim, as against Lavoisier, to be the discoverer of oxygen gas.

In the Geological Section, Professor Green made some striking remarks. Geologists, he said, were in danger of continually becoming loose reasoners, giving as an instance a somewhat hasty conclusion arrived at by a meeting of eminent men (at which he was present), respecting a change in the position of the earth's axis of rotation, attributed to an extensive upheaval and depression of masses of land; this, it was supposed, would account for alterations in climate. We may observe, however, that this last-named opinion, which had been very much discarded, has been lately revived by a distinguished *savant* in Austria. Professor Green reminds us of the imperfections of the geological record, and of the diverse explanations which some observed facts admit of; it being obviously uncertain whether structures are really organic remains, or whether they are mineral aggregates simulating organic forms. He is here discussing the utility of geology as a branch of education for youths, but his words are none the less noteworthy. Geologists are not always so candid.

The Biological Section had for its President Professor Milnes Marshall; and the subject of his address was "The development of animals." The argument in favour of evolution drawn from the phenomena of embryology is well known, and it lost nothing under his manipulation. It is very much a question for specialists, and those who are not acquainted with the subject by practical experience are scarcely able to form a fair judgment on the value of the evidence. There is, it appears, a process by which the embryo of a higher animal at different stages of its existence, reproduces, if we may say so, various characteristics of the lower forms of organisms, leaving it to be inferred that it thus retraces the history of the evolution of the family and the genus to which it belongs. This strange phenomenon

is termed recapitulation. That there is some foundation for all this, and that it is not mere fancy, we believe would be generally admitted. One instance that Dr. Milnes Marshall gives, that of teeth which are present in the embryo of the whalebone whale but disappear before birth, and indeed never cut the gum, is a very curious one; but whether it will bear the whole weight of the argument that is laid on it, may perhaps be questioned. Thus, certain gill-clefts in the embryos of higher animals, including man, apparently of no possible use, are supposed to show that a remote ancestor swam, fish-like, in the water; may not this be an exaggerated inference? Again, there exist certain muscles in the human ear which we cannot use, but which are said to point to the existence of an ancestor who could and did use them. This is really a remarkable fact, but may admit possibly of some other explanation.

Dr. Milnes Marshall is a natural-selectionist, and he is compelled to admit that recapitulation has its difficulties; on the theory of natural selection there is no reason why it should take place, nothing to indicate why organs that are of no service to the adult animal should appear in the embryo. May we then not say that, so far as this particular theory is concerned, recapitulation, if it proves anything, proves too much? It is also to be borne in mind that, in order to establish any scientific hypothesis on a firm basis, it is not quite enough to show that certain phenomena point more or less strongly in the direction of that hypothesis; you ought also to prove that *no other* explanation will account for the facts, no other explanation at least that is practically available. In this way it is that the modern system of astronomy has been placed on a secure and unshaken basis; and the same is doubtless true of some of the leading facts in geology. Can it, however, be said of the Darwinian theory of evolution?

Of all the presidential addresses on this occasion the one that was calculated above the others to excite popular interest, and was inferior to none in ability and brilliancy, was that delivered to the Geographical Section by Sir Lambert Playfair, English Consul-General in Algeria. The subject was the "Mediterranean, Physical and Historical"; no epitome that we can give would be sufficient to convey an adequate idea of the address, and we recommend those interested in the subject to read it *in extenso*, or at least such portions as appeared in the papers of the 5th of September last. It is really an able historical essay on a sea, the shores of which were the cradle of civilisation, and it imparts in a short space much information on geographical topics. We will just allude to two or three scientific points. The Mediterranean was, in ancient times, before the appearance of man on the earth we suppose, divided into two basins by an isthmus extending to Sicily from Cape Bon in Tunisia, Sicily being joined to Italy, and Malta again to Sicily. Even now there is no great depth of water on this submarine bank. When the waters of the Atlantic were let in through the Straits of Gibraltar, this isthmus was probably submerged as it is now. It is generally

known that a constant current flows into the Mediterranean through the straits, but it is not so well known that a slighter undercurrent flows the other way. The upper one being much more copious supplies the Mediterranean with the water that it loses by evaporation; the undercurrent, flowing at about half the rate of the other, is composed of warmer water, which has undergone concentration by evaporation and it partially gets rid of the excess of salt in the sea. Were it not for this process of inflow from the ocean, the evaporation being far greater than the rainfall, the Mediterranean would sink to a much lower level, and an isthmus of land would again run from Africa to Sicily. As a general rule, the tides on this inland sea are scarcely appreciable; but in the Gulf of Gabes the tide is reported as running at the rate of two or three knots an hour, with a rise and fall varying from three to eight feet.

In the section devoted to Economic Science and Statistics, Professor Alfred Marshall gave an able address bearing in great measure on the vexed questions of Protection and Free Trade as applicable to the United States of America; but as these things do not concern science strictly so-called, we forbear to enter upon them; and, indeed, we doubt whether the British Association ought to allow such subjects (however important in themselves) to form a part of its proceedings, encumbered as they already are by such a variety of other matter.

The address of Captain Noble to the Mechanical Science Section was full of most important matter, though in many ways of too technical a character to fascinate the attention of the general public. He began with an enumeration of the dimensions of the Forth Bridge, which with its approach viaducts has a total length of nearly 1·6 mile, and an extreme height from its lowest foundation to the central position of the cantilever of 451 feet. To show the comparative insignificance of the Eiffel Tower, he conceives it as being built horizontally and without support, in which case it would reach little more than half across one of the main spans of the bridge.

He then proceeded to the main portion of his subject, the comparison in point of size and armament of the first-rate line of battle-ships, such as they were in the early part of the present century, with the enormous vessels that have been constructed with the aid of modern mechanical science, and the monster-guns which they carry. To get a full idea of this, the figures must be read in detail, but it may suffice to say in Captain Noble's words that any one of these modern vessels, could in a few minutes, blow out of the water half a dozen men-of-war of the old type. The picturesque effect of the old fleet of sailing vessels is gone, and the consummate skill in seamanship with which those vessels were handled, will no longer be of much avail: engineering power controlled of course by skilful hands will henceforth carry the day; and it is pleasant to know that Captain Noble, who has had great opportunities for judging, has the highest confidence in the zeal and the ability of the naval officers

of the present time. We may mention that one of our most powerful new vessels, the *Victoria*, has no less than eighty-eight steam-engines of various sizes on board, a number that may seem almost incredible. The development in gunnery, the construction of guns, their ammunition, and their working, is, if possible, still more astounding than that in the building of vessels.

The President of the Anthropological Section, Mr. John Evans, was unavoidably absent, and his address was read by Professor Rudler; it went into the question of the antiquity of man, and though in favour of allowing a very high antiquity to the human race, yet as to the supposed existence of man in tertiary times, said that the verdict must be "not proven." It then went on to discuss the *vexata questio* of the original home of the Aryan race, and some points connected with linguistic research.

Beside these addresses, there were three great public lectures given, one by Mr. E. B. Poulton, on the subject of "Mimicry," by which an insect for instance assumes, so to speak, the appearance of some part of a plant, a leaf, or another insect. This has been attributed to Natural Selection, and perhaps to some extent very truly so; but like other things it will admit of a different explanation. The lecturer without going much into argument, gave some admirable illustrations of the phenomena he was describing, by the aid of the magic lantern.

Another lecture by Professor Vernon Boys, on the subject of "Quartz Fibres and their Applications," was also beautifully illustrated in the same way.

The third was on "Spinning Tops," and was by Professor John Perry; it was intended chiefly for workmen, and it showed how this familiar toy gave one a lesson in Mechanics and Astronomy, how in fact the earth itself was a spinning top, and how the motion of the top exemplifies that curious reeling movement of the earth's axis, which causes the precession of the equinoxes.

On one of the days a discussion of some importance took place in two combined sections, Geographical and Economical, on the question of colonising or inhabiting certain portions of the earth not hitherto occupied, and so meeting the difficulty of the great increase of population. It was calculated by Mr. Ravenstein that in 182 years the surface of the globe would be fully peopled at the present rate, and little space left available.

Without attempting to give a *resumé* of the minor papers that were read in the various sections, we may say that there was one read in the Geographical department by Miss Mené Muriel Dowe—described by one of the penny-a-liners as a young lady of a pleasing and attractive appearance—who had made a tour in the Carpathian mountains this year, accompanied by no one but a native guide. She stated that she wore an easily-detachable skirt over knickerbockers, she carried a knife and a revolver, and when riding she rode as a man would do, and without a regular saddle; when not riding, she climbed mountains bare-footed. She had been nearly drowned

while bathing in strange rivers; and had once dislocated her shoulder by a fall; she regretted she had never met a bear face to face. Moreover she expressed a hope that the Polish eagle would one day wear its crown, and when the war should come she would wish to be a newspaper correspondent, or a vivandiere. This young and enterprising Amazon was, we believe, greatly applauded; we wonder if the next step in our social disorganisation will be the bestowing of honour and applause upon exceptionally effeminate men.

In the Anthropological Section there was a paper (two indeed we think) on the aborigines of Australia; it appears that they are by no means the degraded beings they have been represented to be; nor are they devoid of all religion. On this last-mentioned point savages are not always communicative, and it is not very easy for them to make themselves understood by Europeans; so that distorted reports of their religious or irreligious ideas are readily spread and accepted.

In the Geographical Section Father Tondini read (in English) a paper which seemed to aim at making Jerusalem a centre for calculating time, the place in which might be drawn the meridian for the universal day, leaving to Greenwich, however, its present position as the great meridian for calculating longitudes. The proposal did not meet with much favour, and indeed the difficulties attending it are too obvious to be overlooked.

One great drawback to the British Association is the great multiplicity of sections, rendering it almost impossible for any one to listen to more than a very few of the papers read. For those who are themselves authors of papers, or who take a leading part in discussing them, this matters little; they have their own sections to attend, and care comparatively little for the others. But for quiet non-combatants the difficulty is considerable.

The meeting next year is to be at Cardiff, and is to begin on the 19th of August, a more convenient time we think than the first week in September. The president is to be Dr. Huggins, the well-known astronomer, whose researches with the spectroscope have contributed greatly to the advancement of science.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Unexplored Canada.—The *Times* of September 2 has an article under the above heading, stating that more than a quarter of the Dominion of Canada, or 1,000,000 out of 3,470,000 square miles, is still unexplored. Dr. Dawson, of the Canadian Survey, enumerates sixteen areas of considerable extent of which nothing is known, as follows:

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(1) Area of 9500 square miles, or somewhat less than Belgium, between the eastern boundary of Alaska, the Porcupine River, and the Arctic coast, entirely within the Arctic Circle. (2) Area of 32,000 square miles, or somewhat larger than Ireland, west of the Lewes and Yukon rivers, and extending to the boundaries of Alaska. Being sheltered from the sea by the very high range of the St. Elias Alps, it ought to possess an exceptional climate. (3) Area of 27,600 square miles, nearly the size of Scotland, between the Lewes, Pelly, and Stikine rivers; has been penetrated only by a few prospectors. It lies in the direct line of the metalliferous belt of the Cordillera, and its lowlands are capable of producing hardy crops. (4) Area of 100,000 square miles, about twice the size of England, between the Pelly and Mackenzie rivers, belonging partly to the basin of the latter river, and partly to that of the Yukon, and including a length of nearly 600 miles of the main range of the Rocky Mountains. (5) Area of 50,000 square miles, nearly that of England, between the Great Bear Lake and the Arctic coast, nearly all within the Arctic Circle. (6) Area of 35,000 square miles, about that of Portugal, between the Great Bear Lake, the Great Slave Lake, and the Mackenzie river. It was the scene of some of the missionary journeys of the Abbé Petitot, who describes it as consisting of frozen steppes, like Siberia. (7) Area of 81,000 square miles, or more than twice that of Newfoundland, between the Stikine and Liard rivers to the north, and the Skeena and Peace rivers to the south. It contains a large tract of the interior plateau region, and probably much good agricultural land. (8) Area of about 7500 square miles, or half that of Switzerland, between the Peace, Athabasca, and Loon rivers. (9) Area of 35,000 square miles, equal to Portugal, south-east of Lake Athabasca. (10) Area of 7500 square miles, half the extent of Switzerland, east of the Coppermine river, and west of Bathurst Inlet. (11) Area between the Arctic coast and Back's river, 31,000 square miles, nearly equal to Ireland. (12) Extensive area of 178,000 square miles, larger than Sweden, bounded by Back's river, the Great Slave Lake, Hatchet and Reindeer Lakes, Churchill river, and the west coast of Hudson Bay. (13) Area between Severn and Attawapishkat rivers and Hudson Bay, of 22,000 square miles, larger than Nova Scotia. (14) Area of 15,000 square miles, half that of Scotland, between Trout Lake, Lac Seul, and the Albany river. (15) A tract of 35,000 miles to the south and east of James Bay, the nearest to the centres of population of the unexplored areas, and likely to contain valuable timber. (16) Area comprising almost the entire of the Labrador Peninsula, or north-east territory, covering 289,000 square miles, or twice the area of Great Britain and Ireland, with that of Newfoundland added. It is probably rocky, with timber of fair growth in parts, but its value will depend on the metalliferous deposits which it is expected may be found there.

Considerable portions of these areas lie south of the limit of profitable agriculture, and will thus afford a reserve for colonisation. Stretching beyond Winnipeg to the west and north-west, is the great

plateau and prairie belt, widest at the 49th parallel, and narrowing to the Arctic Ocean, which is generally an alluvial region of great fertility, where the sharp northern trend of the summer isotherms in this part of the continent carries the limit of corn culture far higher than in its eastern portions.

Utilisation of the Water Power of the Rhone.—Colonel Turrettini, an engineer in the service of the municipality of Geneva, who directed the works of the St. Gothard tunnel, has published an account of the work done by him in utilising the motive power of the Rhone as it leaves the Lake of Geneva. Measures had been already taken to regulate the level of the lake, as the inhabitants of the Canton du Vaud complained that its summer overflow, submerging their territory, was caused by the obstruction of its outflow by the Genevese, while the latter retorted by asserting that the Vaudois had encroached on the lake. The two Cantons at last came to an agreement, and works costing £92,000 have been constructed, with the desired result of minimising the possibility of an overflow. In September 1883, Colonel Turrettini laid his plans for utilising the water power of the river before the municipality of Geneva, and they have since been carried out. The Rhone, in passing through the town, is divided into two branches by an island covered with buildings, and while the right channel is left clear, the left is converted into an industrial canal, conducting the water into a building erected in the bed of the stream, to contain 20 turbines of 4400 net horse-power. The system of transmission of force by water under pressure has been adopted, and two canalisations have been made, one with low, the other with high, pressure, the latter with an ascending force of 460 feet. The works were very costly, the correction of the slope in the bed of the river requiring that both branches should be emptied in succession, and several banquets were actually given in the bed of the stream. A reservoir, capable of holding two million gallons of water, had also to be constructed about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the town. The total cost was £284,000, and a clear annual profit of £5500 is already made, after deducting the cost of maintenance, interest, and paying off of capital invested. There were, last year, 216 industrial motors, with a force of 1565 horse-power, in use by all varieties of industries, the force employed varying from a *minimum* of a third of a horse for sewing-machines, to a *maximum* of 625 horses for an electric lighting company. The demands for motive power are increasing, and the municipality anticipate having to augment the force at their disposal by works on an island some way down the Rhone, whence an amount of 7000 horse-power can be obtained and transmitted to Geneva by electricity, losing about 2000 horse-power in transit. Subsidiary works, executed at the same time, included the construction of a new system of sewerage, at a cost of £96,000, with such good results on the public health that there were but 9 deaths from typhoid fever during the year out of a population of 73,000. (*The Times*, July 26, 1890.)

Delimitation of German and English Africa.—The distri-

bution of territory between England and Germany in East Africa leaves the latter in possession of a solid block of 450,000 square miles, lying between the Indian Ocean on the east, and Lakes Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyassa on the west. The British sphere of influence cannot be so accurately defined, as its northern limit, which may almost be said to extend to the Mediterranean, is left to be shaped by the future. The dividing line from the south starts from a point on the coast nearly opposite Pemba Island, whence, running north-west, it bisects the Victoria Nyanza, meeting the eastern boundary of the Congo State a hundred miles further west, near the southern point of Lake Albert Edward. In this region it includes the country of which Mr. Stanley speaks in such glowing terms, the Semliki valley, Mounts Ruwenzori and Mfumbio, with the plateau round Lake Albert, rising from 3000 feet to 5000 feet above the sea, and densely inhabited by an agricultural and cattle-rearing population. The Wahuma, who pervade this and the whole lake region as conquerors and rulers, are a race apparently of Galla origin, of lighter colour than their subjects of Bantu race, and susceptible of a higher degree of civilisation.

Wahuma States.—Uganda, occupying the north-east shore of the Victoria Nyanza, with a population of from three to five millions, and a territory of 20,000 square miles under its immediate ruler, and 50,000 under his vassals, is the most powerful of the Wahuma States, and undoubtedly the pearl of the British protectorate. It is a hilly, but not mountainous country, with an average elevation of 4000 to 5000 feet above the sea, and is covered to the depth of four feet with alluvial soil, producing rich tropical vegetation, maize, rice, and coffee, with bananas and plantains in profusion. Most European animals thrive there, and it is thought that tea culture might be profitably introduced. Next in importance to Uganda is Unyoro, lying between it and the Albert Nyanza, with dependencies to the west of that lake. It forms a plateau about 4000 feet above the sea, with grassy plains, grazed by large herds of cattle, and forests of acacia and gum-bearing trees on the hills. The subject race are the most northerly branch of the Bantu stock, while the dynasty and aristocracy are formed by the Wahuma invaders. The people are skilled forgers and potters, wear complete clothing, and would offer a large field for the sale of cotton goods.

British Littoral.—The British protectorate on the coast includes the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, with a population of 250,000, and a trade estimated at two millions. The latter island is famous for its cloves, of which several million pounds are annually produced. The city of Zanzibar is the largest on the western shore of the Indian Ocean, and the great emporium of its trade. The principal port in the British Company's territory is Mombasa, further north, which has a good harbour, and will be the ocean terminus of the projected railway to Lake Victoria. Still further north is the mouth of the Tana river, in the district of Vitu, which may also some day be the outlet of a productive country.

Southern Lake District.—The western boundary of the German sphere touches the frontier of the Congo State, about 100 miles west of the Victoria Nyanza, and farther south is formed by the western shores of Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa, where its southern extension is limited by the Portuguese frontier on the Rufuma river. Between the two last-mentioned lakes, it comes in contact with the southern sphere of British influence, which includes the southern extremity of Lake Tanganyika, and the eastern shore of Lake Nyassa, with the Stevenson Road connecting the two. Nyassaland is being developed by the Scotch missionaries and the African Lakes Company, and is the only part of Central Africa where European agricultural settlement has been tried. It is entirely cut off from the sea by German and Portuguese territory, but has its outlet through the Zambesi, of which the free navigation has been secured. The British boundary runs westward for about fifty miles from the extremity of Lake Tanganyika to the eastern shore of Lake Moero, and thence southward to the Zambesi, including Lake Bangweolo within its limits. This district, memorable as the scene of Livingstone's last wanderings and death, is by all accounts swampy and unhealthy, being the source of the upper feeders of the Congo and its affluents. The Shire Highlands west of Lake Nyassa form probably the most valuable district in this territory, and coffee is already successfully grown there under European direction. Much of the traffic of the interior, diverted from its former route by the German hostilities farther north, has been recently finding its way down Lake Tanganyika, and through Nyassaland to the sea.

Development of Matebeleland.—Mr. Maund, at the meeting of the British Association on September 5, read a paper on Zambesi and Lobengula, explaining that he had been one of the envoys to that potentate, two of whose chiefs he brought in 1888 to see the Queen. Matebeleland, in which there is a colony of 1000 white men connected by regular coach service with Kimberley, he declared to be the most promising region for colonisation in Africa, being healthy, sparsely populated, and rich in minerals. The country ruled by the Matebele Zulus is about the size of Germany, but only a portion of it is in their actual occupation. The climate is rendered healthy by the elevation of the plateau, and the heat, though great, is not oppressive. European fruits and vegetables will thrive as well as sweet potatoes, rice, maize, and tobacco, the latter grown in quantities by the natives. Indigo grows wild, and is used for dyeing, and coffee, sugar, cotton, and india-rubber can be cultivated. But it is to its mineral riches that the speaker looks for a speedy development. Gold, he believes, will create a rush like that in California and Australia, and traces of old workings show that it has long been known to exist. He himself has prospected and found gold, and seen the water-courses coloured below twenty reefs examined by him. Copper, traces of ancient workings for which are also found, abounds in Matebeleland, which is likewise rich in hematite iron. The latter is fashioned into many implements, principally assegais, by the con-

quered peoples, Makalakas and Mashonas, who, though physically inferior to their masters, are able and willing workers. The king has, so far, adhered to his promises to the chartered company, and the latter are engaged in the construction of a road, and profess to be in a position to protect working parties. By a treaty recently made with the Barotse chief, they have extended their sphere of influence to the rich but unhealthy valley of the Upper Zambesi.

The Swaziland Convention.—The recent compromise by which native rule is maintained in Swaziland in combination with international judicial administration, is not considered satisfactory by the Transvaal Boers, who desire to annex this country. The influx of white men, in consequence of the concession of mining rights by the late king, necessitated the creation of a white tribunal composed of a Dutch and an English magistrate, whose judgments are irreversible. This arrangement seems likely to lead to considerable friction owing to race jealousy among the settlers.

In return for the right of passage to the sea, secured by the Convention, the Transvaal has had to accept a Customs union with the Cape, which will have the effect of enhancing prices to its inhabitants. Under the present tariff, the Transvaal charges a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* import duty on all goods, which, with the 6 per cent. duty in Natal, through which they principally come, makes an addition of 11 per cent. to prices, say at Johannesburg. The Portuguese duty at Delagoa Bay being 3 per cent., goods by that route pay a total of 8 per cent. At the Cape the duty has hitherto been 15, which, with the frontier duty of 5, made 20, but this is by the Customs union agreement to be exchanged for a total of 15 per cent. from all quarters. The trade of Natal will suffer from this equalisation of tariff, as it nearly doubles the ultimate charge on goods arriving thence, while the Cape will probably gain proportionally, as the railway to Kimberley will carry a good deal of the traffic. The present terminus of the railway from Natal is Ladysmith in the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal Government will not allow any extension through their territory, a prohibition causing great discontent among the foreign mining population, who, however, are powerless in the matter, as they have no votes.

Three Months' Captivity in Dahomey.—The diary of Mr. Edward Chaudouin, manager of the trading firm of Fabre and Co., at Whydah, and one of the hostages seized by the King of Dahomey, has been published at full length in the Paris journal *L'Illustration*. The factory at Whydah having been besieged by the Dahomean troops from February 18 to 24, 1890, its European occupants, twelve in number, including M. Chaudouin and two French missionaries, were lured out by the hope of a safe conduct and immediately seized by the natives. Stripped to their shirts and drawers, and huddled for the night into a small hut, they were subjected to very rough handling and many personal indignities, before they were presented to the king in his camp at Allada near the coast. They passed through a force of 15,000 men in battle array, forming in their flowing white

robes an impressive spectacle. A stranger one was presented by the royal body-guard, consisting of the famous 4000 Amazons of Dahomey, armed with rifle and knife, and looking, despite their sex, a very formidable *corps d'élite*. The king was seated under a thatched roof surrounded by his attendants, and after the captives had prostrated themselves before him, ordered them to be kept safely and unharmed. After being dragged in the rear of the army to Abomey, where they were refreshed with a sight of the heads of four French sharpshooters in earthenware pots, they had, on May 2, another audience with the king, who impressed them rather favourably, as he looked frank and dignified, and showed some courtesy of manner, asking them if they were tired and would like some refreshment. He made them a long speech on the relations between him and France, ending with the welcome permission to return to Whydah, where they arrived on May 5, having been conducted thither with every mark of attention from the authorities of Dahomey.

Proposed Expedition to the Sources of the Congo.—The Congo Commercial Company have decided to send out a fresh expedition, consisting of seven Europeans, to settle the outstanding questions as to the remote feeders of that river. The territories of the Congo Free State are bounded on the East by three lakes: Tanganyika, Moero, and Bangweolo, while through them from north to south are scattered a series of smaller lakes, two of which, Lohemba and Upamba, are conjecturally supposed to be the reservoirs of the Congo. The latter, as far as is known at present, is formed by three main branches: (1) The Lualaba, regarded by some as the principal, coming from the south-west, and forming on the map, a chain of lakelets, of which two only have been seen, by Cameron and Reichard; (2) the Luapula, of which the Chambesi is the upper course, and which traverses Lakes Bangweolo and Moero, both discovered by Livingstone; (3) the Lukuga, issuing from Lake Tanganyika, and flowing due west. According to information derived from natives and Arab traders, these three rivers uniting in a common centre, form a large lake, Lanji, which no white traveller has ever seen.

The country of Urua, to the west of Lake Tanganyika, into which the expedition will penetrate, has been skirted by many explorers, among them Capello and Ivens, Reichard and Arnot, all of whom speak in glowing terms of its fertility, salubrity, and mineral wealth. It lies so high that frost is not unknown, and seems to be a region of much promise. The expedition will be commanded by M. Alexandre Delcommune, who has already done good work in exploring the affluents of the Congo, and has been seventeen years on that river. He will be accompanied by Lieut. Hackanson, of the Swedish army, formerly one of the agents of the Congo Free State; Dr. Briart, Lieut. Santschoff, formerly of the Russian army; Baron Marcel de Roert; M. Norbert Diddelich, an engineer; and M. Protsch. MM. Hackanson, Briart, and Santschoff have already sailed, M. Diddelich

followed on July 3, and M. Delcommune on the 6th. The escort will consist of 150 native soldiers. The expedition will meet at Kiachasso about the middle of September, and embarking on the steamer *Roi des Belges*, will proceed by the Upper Congo and its affluent the Lomami, to the limit of navigation on the latter river, nearly opposite Nyangwe. Further advance will be on foot, and it is calculated that the expedition will be absent from twelve to eighteen months. The expedition, on reaching the country to the west of Lakes Bangweolo and Moero—included in some maps within the Congo Free State—may find the country virtually under British protection. (*Times*, July 1, 1890.)

Trade Routes to Khorassan.—The first report on the trade of Khorassan, compiled since the establishment of a Consulate-General at Meshed, has recently been issued by the Foreign Office. British goods are imported by only two main routes, of which the first, by the Black Sea, Trebizond, Tabriz, and Teheran, entails a caravan journey of about 1600 miles. No transit dues are levied by the Turkish authorities, and only 5 per cent. is charged on arrival at Tabriz. The goods, bought there by Persian merchants, and despatched by them to Khorassan, pay a further duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on arrival there. The journey from Trebizond to Meshed takes about four months at the most favourable season, and camel hire is £2 17s. 2d. a load. The second route from the Persian Gulf, is by Bunder Abbas, and Yezd or Kirman, involving land transit of about 1000 miles, traversed in forty days by mules, or in seventy-five by camels.

Although the route by Kirman is shorter, and the dues charged at Yezd are avoided by it, the latter is generally preferred by merchants, as it is a bustling place of business, where they are likely to find a readier sale for the goods. Transport, too, though cheaper on the former route, is more regular and more easily procurable on the latter. British goods are by treaty liable only to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. on entering Persian territory, and are exempt from all further duty throughout Persia, but this rule does not as yet apply to Khorassan, in transit to which they pay about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *via* Kirman, or over 9 per cent. *via* Yezd. A Russian official decree of last year imposes an *ad valorem* duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all goods imported into Transcaspia from Europe, India, and Persia, and exceedingly heavy duties on all British goods which are a necessity (such as tea and indigo), on arrival at Samarcand while piece goods, &c., are rigidly excluded. The duties levied by the Amir of Afghanistan on the other hand, amounting to £2 2s. per cent., have caused the shortest and best route for goods from India to Meshed, that by Kandahar and Herat, to be totally abandoned, although the hire per camel load would be only £2 6s. 9d. Russian goods are imported in Khorassan almost entirely by the Transcaspian railway, only a small proportion travelling thither by Tabriz or Astrabad.

Chinese and Indian Teas in Central Asia.—The total value of British goods imported last year *via* Trebizond and Tabriz was

about £23,429, and by Bunder Abbas £60,871, exclusive of Chinese tea, to the value of £118,571 of green, and £5143 of black, imported from Bombay. The Indian teas figure in this list only for £12,000 and £7143, for black and green respectively, the total value of Chinese tea being £123,714 compared to £19,143 of Indian. Nearly all the green tea, value £122,857, went on to Bokhara, Khiva, &c. The Amir of Afghanistan levies £5 13s. 4d. on every camel-load in transit *via* Kabul to Bokhara, and the Amir of Bokhara 2½ per cent for passage through his dominions. A pound of tea costing twelve annas in India will cost about sixteen when it reaches Meshed, and eighteen when brought to Bokhara by this route, or twenty-one by the Kabul route. It seems nevertheless that a large quantity of the Indian tea imported into Bokhara travels by the latter route, as though the Indian merchants were unaware that that by Khorassan is cheaper. India supplies all the indigo used in those provinces, and about £5143 worth travels annually through Persia to Russian territory.

Russian and English Trade.—The relative figures of British and Russian goods imported into Khorassan are £84,300 for the former, and £110,408 for the latter. All English goods are considered better; but, from the greater original cost superadded to that of carriage, cannot compete with the Russian in price. At the present moment Russian and English chintzes are competing in the bazaars of Khorassan at prices leaving little profit on the sale of either. The Russian merchants are trying to force the English out of the market by selling at the lowest possible figures, while the latter are compelled to dispose of their goods even at a loss. With the Transcaspien railway at Askabad, only 150 miles from Meshed, and both places connected, as they soon will be, by a good macadamised road, it is obvious that English goods, handicapped by a longer and more difficult journey, must be driven out of the field. English broadcloth is preferred, but is undersold by cheaper qualities manufactured elsewhere and imported *via* Tabriz, while there is considerable demand for a Russian imitation cloth made from cotton, which gives very little wear and looks shabby immediately. Russian sugar, sold at 4½d. per pound, monopolises the market, as Indian sugar, the wholesale price of which in India is over 3¼ annas, cannot compete in cheapness though, being made from cane, it is more sweetening and superior in every way. Sugar might easily be manufactured on the spot, as beet is plentiful.

Products of Khorassan.—The chief exports of native produce from Khorassan are opium, cotton, wool, turquoises, dried fruits, almonds, carpets, and shawls. Opium is the only native article exported in any quantity (£37,143 worth) towards India, its ultimate destination being China; £14,286 worth is also sent to Constantinople through Teheran. Of other goods only £1814 worth were sent to India in the year in question, while wool, cotton, dried fruits, turquoises, &c., to the value of £111,442 were exported to Russia. The provinces of Khorassan and Seistan have an area

of about 200,000 square miles. Although the latter is very sparsely populated and, with the exception of some exports of wool to Bunder Abbas, almost without trade, it is said to be very fertile and capable of development. The revenue of the two provinces for the past year was £154,000 in cash, 12,464 tons of grain (two-thirds wheat and one barley) and 3942 tons of kah (chopped straw). Of this revenue £27,543 goes to the Shah—£24,914 of the cash and £2629 the price of the grain. Pensions, salaries, and pay of troops absorb the remainder. The population is, approximately, half a million, no census being taken. That of Meshed, including a floating population of 8000 pilgrims is under 50,000. There are in the town 650 looms for silk, 320 for shawls, and 40 for carpet weaving. Coarse cotton and woollen cloths, copper vessels, an inferior quality of earthenware, soap, tallow, and candles, are also manufactured there. Opium, cotton, wheat, barley, beans, pulse, grain, lentils, millet, beet, rape, castor, and saffron, are cultivated, but only the three first are exported, the remainder being consumed on the spot. The fruits include grapes, melons, peaches, plums, apricots, mulberries, pears, apples, and a small cucumber. The celebrated turquoise mine near Nishapur is farmed for £2857 a year, though its annual output of stones is worth £22,857. There are said to be twelve copper, seven lead, four coal, and one salt mine, in addition to a problematical gold mine; but only three of the copper mines, the salt mine, and one of the coal mines, are worked at all, and that only superficially. No coal is used in the country, and the copper worked is imported, while the native copper is sent to Russia. Meshed is connected by telegraph with Teheran, Astrabad, Bujurd, Kelat, Deraghez, and Sarakhs.

Trade Routes to Persia.—Mr. Lynch at the same meeting (British Association, September 4) read a paper on the commercial possibilities of Persia, pointing out that the obvious interest of England is that this great empire, covering an area of 610,000 square miles, five times that of the United Kingdom, should be developed under native rule, as an alternative to its falling into the hands of Russia. Declaring that the permission to navigate the Karun river is, without further facilities, illusory, he went on to review the relation of that route to the commerce of the interior. While the trade of central and southern Persia flows mainly on mule or camel back from and to the Persian Gulf, whence there is water carriage to India and Europe, the principal lines of communication of the northern provinces are by the Black Sea route *via* Trebizond, or through Russian territory by the Caspian. Teheran, with 200,000, and Ispahan with 80,000 inhabitants, are the principal markets of the interior, the latter being the one which, as the southern capital, may be said to belong commercially to the Persian Gulf system of communications. Bushire, the principal port of the latter as things stand at present, has, as opposed to Shuster, the head of the navigation of the Karun, the very obvious disadvantage of necessitating a longer and more difficult line of inland transit.

The distances on this are : Bushire to Shiraz 200 miles, over a pass of 7250 feet high, Shiraz to Ispahan 320, with a pass of 8000 feet, Ispahan to Teheran 280 miles over the Kohrud pass of 8750 feet. The difficulties of this road, the portion of which between Shiraz and the sea is the worst, are so great that bulky goods are taken by river to Bagdad, and thence, after passing the Turkish custom-house, transported to the plateau by the easier route of Kerrind.

Advantages of Shuster.—Shuster, on the other hand, distant 130 miles by land from the Persian port of Mohammerah, accessible to ocean steamers, commands a series of routes to the most populous districts of Persia, of which the chief are : (1) From Shuster *via* Khoramebad, Burujird, and Sultanabad to Teheran, a distance of 480 miles, as against 800 between Teheran and Bushire. This road rises for a distance of 110 miles from under 6000 feet to passes over 7000 feet high, the culminating point being Kushkedar between Sultanabad and Burujird, 7490 feet high. Across this section a group of European capitalists are engaged in constructing a cart road. (2) From Shuster *via* Malamir to Ispahan, a distance of 250 miles of which about 73 are at high altitudes, rising at one point to 8650 feet. By these roads the distance between Teheran and a port is reduced from 800 to 450 miles, and that from Ispahan to navigable water, from 520 to 250 miles. The first road from Shuster lies through the country depredated by the Lur tribes, but the revenues derived from increased traffic would make it the interest of the Persian Government to insure its safety. The second passes through a country occupied by pacific tribes. A recent estimate of the trade of Persia with Great Britain and India rates it at £2,500,000, and this figure ought to be largely increased by the opening of the Karun river, on which there is now steam service both above and below Ahwaz, where a ledge of rocks across the stream causes an interruption.

Over-population of the Globe.—Statisticians are beginning to calculate the period when the earth will cease to support its inhabitants at the present rate of increase, and a speaker at the British Association places this date at 182 years hence. According to the evidence of Mr. Giffard before the Colonisation Committee, there are but 100,000 square miles of territory to be occupied in the United States, but Australasia has still room for five times, and Canada for four times as many immigrants, while South America has a million-and-a-half square miles available, and Russia could support a much larger number of inhabitants than she actually does.

Cession of Heligoland.—The transference of Heligoland on August 9 from England to Germany, as part of the African Convention, is one of the few instances in history of a cession of territory as the result of a pacific agreement. On the day of the formal act of transfer, which attracted an immense influx of visitors from the mainland, the two flags remained flying side by side until sunset, and only on the following day was that of Germany hoisted

alone. The little rock which has thus obtained ephemeral celebrity has an area less than that of Hyde Park, of about three-fourths of a square mile, and a population, all fishermen, of some 2000. This, however, is increased in the bathing season by about 15,000 visitors, who are daily transported in strange looking boats across a sound about two miles in width to the adjacent Sandy Island, which is the scene of their immersion. The geographical characteristics of Heligoland, the "Holy Island," are summed up in popular descriptive doggerel:

Red is the rock,
Green is the land,
White is the strand:
These are the colours of Heligoland.

The little town nestles under its red rock, on the top of which is perched the fishing village, to which access is gained by a lift. Lobster fishing, from June to September, is the most lucrative occupation of its inhabitants, and the average annual yield of the fisheries is about £7000. Fish is, moreover, the principal food of the population. They speak an unwritten dialect, declared by linguists to be Anglo-Saxon. The island contains neither horses nor donkeys, but eight cows and thirty sheep are kept for milk. The English garrison consisted of three policemen and a few coastguard, but, under German rule, the island will probably be fortified and strongly garrisoned. The Convention provides for the exemption from conscription of all its existing male inhabitants.

Notes on Novels.

The Heriots. By SIR HENRY CUNNINGHAM. London: Macmillan. 1890.

"**T**HE Heriots" is a charming story, charmingly told. Olivia Hilliard's adventures in London, and her experience of the hollowness of unmitigated worldly pleasure when tested by the standard of a higher nature, are admirably portrayed, and she deserves her place as heroine from her courage in breaking away from all the allurements of vanity and ambition, when she finds their insufficiency to satisfy her heart. A penniless but well-born beauty, launched upon London society by the good nature of fashionable friends, she achieves the brilliant success of the season, becomes noted for her many gifts of personal attraction, finally triumphing in the conquest of Claude de Renzi, a rising young statesman, and heir to a

great cosmopolitan banking-house. Fascinated by his brilliant qualities, but with her deeper feelings untouched, she is persuaded to accept his hand, and with it the dazzling future that awaits her. The uncongenial atmosphere of a society essentially frivolous, devoid of religion, and indifferent to morality, helps to awaken her, and she discovers in time that there is a gulf between her real nature and that of the man she proposes to marry. She is eventually rewarded for her sacrifice by finding genuine happiness in the unchanged affection of a former lover, whom she can marry without a doubt or misgiving in her heart. A successful woman of the world is sketched in the heroine's chaperon and whilom benefactress, Mrs. Valentine Heriot, who descends to the lowest meanness of intrigue, in order to oust her brother-in-law from his place in his mother's will. Temporary success rewards her baseness, but poetical justice is wreaked on her before the end, in the discovery of her plot, and in the death of her child, the only object of her affection.

The Mystery of M. Félix. By B. L. FARJEON. London: J. V. White. 1890.

THE attempt to construct a sensational plot has resulted in this work in the compilation of, perhaps, the most incredible tissue of improbabilities that has ever insulted the common-sense of the long-suffering public. No attempt is made to reconcile the action of the characters with the ordinary dictates of human reason, and the innocent victims of the most perfunctory of villains walk open-eyed into the trap he has laid for them. The persecuted heroine, in particular, is betrayed by her own ingenuousness, combined with a tendency to lapse into insensibility on all critical occasions, into a series of the most compromising situations, while a failure of memory, blotting out the facts and circumstances of her marriage, enables a wicked brother-in-law to deny it, and appropriate her child's inheritance. Among minor improbabilities are the imprisonment of a sane man in a lunatic asylum for close upon twenty years; the detection of the truth by the introduction of a lodging-house maid-of-all-work in the character of another patient; the supposed murder of a man who is not really dead, but in a state of temporary insensibility, the wholesome institution of a coroner's inquest having apparently fallen in his case into temporary abeyance; and the sequestration of some of the personages in caverns, accessible only by ropes, whence they are rescued barely in time to avert imminent death from starvation. It would be loss of time to analyse the plot into which these absurdities are interwoven, as it would be tedious in the doing, and of little interest when done. The fairy tales, which frankly set aside the laws of nature, require far less of a surrender of reason than do novels like this, based on a total travesty of humanity.

The Keeper of the Keys. By F. W. ROBINSON. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1890.

UNDER the above somewhat far-fetched title, which does not refer to Tennyson's

Shadow cloaked from head to foot,
Who keeps the keys of all the creeds,

but is merely a synonym for a wife, the author has given us one of the prettiest and most interesting stories he has written for a long time. The vicissitudes gone through by the heroine, whose father, to begin with, is a convict just released from penal servitude, bring her in contact with some of those strange specimens of humanity whom Mr. Robinson delights in portraying; for Rachel Wickerswill and her father are at least as eccentric in their circumstances and surroundings as any other specimen in his menagerie. But it is when transported to the apparently commonplace existence of her rich uncle's household that the mystery of a still darker tragedy involves, though indirectly, Fortuna Vanderspur in its shadow; for the murder of the gay, handsome, and faithless *fiancé* of her cousin Eugénie touches closely all the lives bound up with her own. Her lover, Dominic Gair, the murdered man's cousin, becomes for a time the object of suspicion, which the author adroitly diverts from the real culprit until he chooses to divulge the secret. The enigmatical character of Eugénie Vanderspur does not prepare us for such a deed, as an appearance of superficial coldness and reserve mask in her the deeper feelings, which all run in a single channel. Nor is the working of her nature sufficiently demonstrated to make her action intelligible, even in the end, unless we explain it as the outcome of outraged pride rather than affection.

A Heavy Reckoning. By E. WERNER. London: Bentley. 1890.

AN interesting story is here elaborated out of materials principally furnished by the construction of a speculative railway in some part of Germany, and the fortunes of its promoters and projectors. These are principally two, Nordheim, a millionaire, whose fortune has been based on the fraudulent appropriation of a friend's invention, and Helmhorst, his *protégé*, a young engineer, ambitious and self-seeking, but with elements of nobility in his disposition. He sacrifices his real attachment to Erna, the portionless niece of his patron, to a cold-blooded wooing of his daughter Alice, in the interests of his professional advancement. In the same spirit Erna accepts Waltenburg, a wealthy suitor, to whom she is indifferent; and we have thus two betrothed couples who regard each other with a feeling of antipathy rather than affection. The scene is principally laid among the mountains, where the works in connection with the railway bring all the characters together. The track is carried

round the base of the Wolkenstein, an inaccessible peak, on a road which is a triumph of Helmhorst's engineering skill, tunnelled through the rocks, or spanning gorges with bridges that seem suspended in the air. A terrible storm wrecks the whole structure, bringing down floods and avalanches from the mountains to obliterate the works of man, but this crisis in the material fortunes of the personages brings about a happier adjustment of their moral relations to each other. A young village doctor proves to be the son of the inventor whom Nordheim had wronged, and his repressed love for the daughter of the latter is allowed free course after his death, following on the disclosure of his fraud. Helmhorst is thus set free to marry Erna, while her lover Waltenburg, the "odd man out" of the party, is conveniently disposed of by a violent end in a snow-storm on the mountain.

From the Nether World. By GEORGE GISSING. London: Smith Elder. 1889.

MR. GISSING'S tale of life among the lower working classes of London is, whether the author meant it so or not, a terrible picture of a world without religion. No heathen community has ever been so entirely devoid of supernatural motives as that which he portrays, and the British workman of his pages is so far inferior to the African savage, that he has not even a fetish to represent to him a power exterior to himself. The writer does not seek to idealise his *dramatis personæ*, and it is not their material sufferings but their moral condition, their total absence of any principle of self-control, their perversity of mind, aggravated rather than corrected by so-called education, which strikes the reader as so appalling. Family life, embittered either by the undutifulness of children, the brutality of husbands, or the vices of one or several of the parties, representing only the burdens of existence unsweetened by its affections, is portrayed with startling realism, in the interiors of many struggling households. In Clara we have a powerful picture of a rebellious soul self-condemned to torment in this world and the next by the fierce cravings of a nature, self-centred in passionate egotism, unredeemed by a single touch of tenderness, and gifted with higher sensibilities and aspirations only to become a more blighting curse to herself and others. Bob Hewett's career is an illustration of the descent of a nature, in youth merely pleasure-loving and careless, through various phases of deterioration to brutality and crime. A hopeless fatality dogs every one of Mr. Gissing's characters, the bad become worse, the good are sacrificed to the selfishness of others, and even the abortive scheme of a fanatical philanthropist results only in the misery of the one gentle and lovable personage in the book.

One of the Wicked. By GODFREY BURCHETT. London: Ward & Downey. 1890.

RURAL England is the scene of this well worked-out story of a crime and its consequences. The principal characters in the drama are a besotted country squire, Anthony Mallerock, Esther Stillfleet, a girl of inferior position, whom he has married but not publicly acknowledged as his wife, and his brother Pedro, a half Spaniard by race, and compound of Mephistopheles and Machiavelli in character. The guilt of the death of his brother, stabbed by him in a quarrel, he lays at Esther's door, bringing it home to her by a cleverly contrived chain of circumstantial evidence, while he denies her marriage in order to secure the inheritance. The case is so strong against her that she, though innocent, pleads guilty to the lesser charge of manslaughter in order to save her life, and is duly sentenced to a term of imprisonment. The remainder of the story consists of the efforts of her friends to unravel the real story of the crime, which is eventually effected by an ingenious detective's discovery in the house of the murderer, which he has entered burglariously, of what seemed the most shadowy clue. Its following up involves the tracking of an ex-kitchen-maid, Emily Conn, through her subsequent career, and to the southern hemisphere and back. Her knowledge of some of the minute circumstances on which the case for the prosecution rested enables her not only to overthrow the whole fabric of falsehood, but to bring home the guilt to the real criminal. The interest is kept up until the close, which leaves Esther established in her rightful position, widowed, but well endowed, while the pair of lovers who have been instrumental in establishing her innocence are rewarded by the enjoyment of ideal wedded bliss.

The Tragic Muse. By HENRY JAMES. London: Macmillan. 1890.

THE "Tragic Muse" of the title-page is an underbred girl with a strong vocation for the stage, and an unlimited supply of the pushing egotism which so often accompanies that and other forms of genius. Beauty is at first her only apparent qualification for her profession, but being a heroine she develops the remaining ones in process of time, and become a famous actress, whose success, however, fails to interest the reader in any degree. The other characters are almost equally out of the range of sympathy. The hero, "Nick" Dormer, is a contemptible creature with æsthetic proclivities, who throws up a promising parliamentary career to potter over an easel, and alienates by his half-hearted courtship, the beautiful and wealthy woman who is willing to bestow her heart and fortune on him. The book is, as a matter of course, rich in clever satire of minute points of character, but shows total inability to grasp or present any one as a whole. Mr. James's artistic vision is microscopic, and consists

entirely of analysis of detail without the synthetic power of combining the magnified minutiae on which our whole attention is concentrated. He is consequently best as a satirist, or in the lighter sketches, where a caricature likeness of character will suffice. On a large canvas his vagueness becomes blottesque rather than suggestive, and the attempt to fill in his outlines only makes them more unreal. In the present work the story is of the slenderest, and stagnates through three closely printed volumes of prolix conversations, varied by tedious dissection of motive in common-place characters. The author's sarcastic vein finds a butt in the portraiture of the professional aesthete, Gabriel Nash, whose artistic epicureanism is scarcely an exaggeration of the inanities indulged in by this modern type of humanity.

The Riddle of Lawrence Haviland. By CONSTANCE SMITH.
London: Bentley. 1890.

WE have here an admirably written and interesting story, with its artistic value somewhat marred by the scattering of interest through, not one, but a succession of plots. This defect of construction is however entailed by the very feature which gives it unusual worth, as a realisation of the gradual development of character under the modifying stress of circumstances. The hero is, from this point of view, admirably drawn, and attracts the reader's full sympathy, despite that intermixture of inflexible self-righteousness which accompanies his high strength of purpose and power of self-discipline. The heroine, Hilda Treherne, is absolutely lovable in her submissive gentleness, combined with warmth and tenderness of affection. She is rather hardly used in having a series of ordeals to go through, since after waiting for years for even a declaration of attachment from a man whose circumstances are an insuperable obstacle to his marriage, her happiness is again postponed to his scruples of honour, when a cloud of suspicion rests for a time on his character. After the lovers have been at last happily united, a long estrangement arises between them from the husband's unnecessarily harsh judgment of a very excusable act of his wife's, the destruction of a document which had accidentally come into her hands, and which seemed at the time to be an additional piece of evidence against him. The terrible temptation to which he himself succumbs, though only in thought and for an instant, humbles his pride and brings about reconciliation, but this is scarcely effected when she has to go through a fresh agony in seeing him hover for weeks between life and death in consequence of an attempt on his life in an Irish vendetta. His ultimate recovery leaves her happy at last, after having exhausted the vicissitudes of fortune.

The Baffled Conspirators. By W. E. NORRIS.

THIS bright sketch of manners, may be described as rather a comedy in one volume than a novel. It narrates the crushing and inglorious defeat of a band of four misogynists, who have the audacity to measure their strength against the female sex in an anti-matrimonial campaign. Their contract binds each to abstain from proposing for any lady until the consent of the others has been obtained, the six months' delay which they have the power of interposing being deemed by the arch-conspirator, Lord Guise, sufficient to nip all matrimonial intentions in the bud. Cupid, thus set at defiance, speedily avenges himself on the conspirators, who, heart-whole at the time they consent to give the pledge, bitterly regret it as they become entangled in situations, which make its fulfilment a grave embarrassment. Three fall victims to the charms of the notorious beauty and man-slayer, Sybil, Lady Belvoir, while the fourth is only saved from a similar fate by a preliminary inoculation, having been but recently released or dismissed from an engagement to her. Her triumph is completed by the subjugation of her avowed enemy, Lord Guise himself, who having begun by finding no language too harsh to apply to her, ends by proposing to and marrying her. Her feminine acuteness easily fathoms the secret of the conspiracy, and she is thus able to explain to her friend, the mysterious and humiliating desertion of a devoted suitor during the six months' probation imposed by the Bachelors' Mutual Protection Society. The characters are sketched with the author's graphic felicity of touch, and the sustained humour of the little piece, through all its varying incidents of pique and misunderstanding, makes it very entertaining reading.

Recha. By DOROTHEA GERARD. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1890.

THIS volume is a companion tale to "Orthodox," since both deal with the sordid lives and intolerant spirit of the fanatical Jews in Austrian Poland. The author's strange pictures of this unfamiliar and unlovely aspect of humanity are limned with the definiteness conferred by intimate knowledge of the subject, and have an anthropological value apart from their merit as works of fiction. Both volumes turn on the same subject, the unrelenting determination of the orthodox Jews to prevent the apostasy of a daughter of their race, in her intended marriage with a Christian gentleman. In the present tale it is an Austrian cavalry officer, who sees and loves the beautiful mask which disguises the half-awakened soul of the usurer's daughter. Light from the outer world had previously only filtered into its darkness through surreptitious reading, but it has sufficed to overthrow all faith in her hereditary creed. The inner change thus wrought in her, she dissembles in her affection for her father, the absorbing passion of her soul, until superseded by a still more

ardent attachment to her Christian lover. The intensity of this feeling in her repressed nature conquers at last her efforts to subdue it, and she consents to abandon her own people, in order to become his wife. Their secret is betrayed to her father, who with the connivance of his co-religionists contrives to make away with the unfortunate young man, while Recha ends as a maniac. The Jewish nature in these types is described as swayed by two master passions, greed, and attachment to the forms of a religion which has lost all moral significance. Here, as in many kindred instances, it would seem as if it were the accidents and not the essentials of faith that have the strongest power of awakening a blind and ferocious zeal in its adherents.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By CANON BELLESHEIM, of Aachen

1. *Katholik.*

Canon Moufang.—The July number opens with a biographical article on the late Canon Moufang, the President of the Episcopal Seminary of Mainz, written by Canon Brück, favourably known to the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW by his history of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century. Moufang was born at Mantz, February 17, 1817, became a student of medicine, and then with signal success applied himself to the study of theology. In due time he was made a canon and president of the seminary. His unwearied application to study fitted him to do signal service to Catholic science. He was the author of a small but thoughtful sketch of the late Cardinal Wiseman, dealing especially with his contributions to Catholic science. Besides not a few minor writings and occasional pamphlets, the Canon has won fame by the production of one eminent work, his collection of "Catholic Catechisms of the Sixteenth Century in the German Language." It should be also mentioned that Canon Moufang was a distinguished orator, and as such for many years was a champion of the Church's rights and liberty, both in the German Diet and in the Second Chamber of Hesse.

The Character of King David.—Next we must mention a series of solid articles on "The History of King David, as Illustrated by Modern Protestant Bible Criticism and Historiography." The

tendency of this criticism, as represented by Dr. Stade's "History of Israel," is to eliminate the supernatural element in David's history, and to reduce him to a sort of modern condottiere.

Blessed John Fisher and the Oath of Supremacy.—The next article discusses the much agitated question, whether or not the Blessed Cardinal Fisher took the oath of supremacy, and shows that there is no solid reason for charging him with any such act; that, on the contrary, the prelate throughout his life showed himself to be one of the most steadfast defenders of the Pope's spiritual supremacy.

Another article defends the German bishops and their great pastoral of 1889 from the wanton attacks in which the Evangelical Association has indulged. In the August number, Professor Nirschl, of Würzburg University, writes on the "Therapeutæ," Canon Stoeckl on the leading principles bearing on the school question; whilst Father Zimmermann, of Ditton Hall, comments on the condition of the Catholic Church in the United States. To the same author we are indebted for a critique on Stubbs's "History of the University of Dublin."

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

The July number opens with a series of articles on "Cardinal Bellarmin as pictured by Old Catholic Historians," which criticise "The Autobiography of Cardinal Bellarmin, in Latin and German, with historical elucidations by Professors Doellinger and Reusch" (Bonn, 1887) Many of the attacks made by Doellinger on Bellarmin are closely examined and refuted. Another article describes the contest now going on between the Hungarian Episcopate and Government as to the education of the children of mixed marriages. Dr. Grube contributes an article on the "Catalogue of Manuscripts, belonging to the Library of Wolfenbüttel (Braunschweig)." It is well known that Flacius Illyricus, by *fas et nefas* (cultor Flacianus), obtained possession of a large quantity of rare manuscripts, which were bought by Frederick Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick, and in 1597 were made over to the library of Wolfenbüttel. Scotchmen will be interested to learn that not a few of these treasures once were the property of churches and convents of their country, amongst which Cod. 1006 Helmstädt, containing "*Antiqua taxatio omnium reddituum omnium episcopatum regni Scotiae*," deserves special mention. Other manuscripts, Cod. 538 Helmstädt, belonged originally to St. Andrews.

Another article is by Father Zimmermann, in which he gives an account of Dr. Jessopp's interesting book, "The Trials of a Country Parson," with some good digressions on the actual condition of the Established Church. Dom Suitbert Baeumer, a Benedictine of Maredsous (Belgium), brings to a close his series of articles on Mabillon. Another article, and one worth reading, gives a biography of the late Father Roothan. Born in Holland, and educated

in the University of Leyden, he joined the Society of Jesus in Russia, distinguished himself as a preacher and missionary, and became its General. Father Roothan was also an eminent student in philology, and during his lifetime preserved an intimate friendship for his ancient Professor van Lennep in Leyden. A rather too brief notice appears in the August issue of Dr. C. Wolfsgrüber's (O. S. B.) "Gregory the Great." This learned biography, the result of wide study, makes its appearance as an offering to the great Pope's memory on the thirteenth anniversary of his accession to the Papal throne. It does not pretend to contain anything either novel or striking. Dr. Wolfsgrüber is content to bring together the results of ancient and modern historical research. His chief source is St. Gregory's own writings. He is particularly to be congratulated on his sketch of the Pope's activity in furthering the interests of the Church, and allowing us a view in his interior life—the source and nourishment of St. Gregory's splendid public acts.

3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

In the July issue Father Dressel writes on a leading question of natural science, "Energie und Entropie die Triebfedern der unbelebten Welt," Father Haan on Hypnotism, and Father Schmitz on a point of some historical interest as to the frequency of the reception of sacraments by the laity in the period immediately preceding the Reformation, in the treatment of which, as he lives in Denmark, the writer draws his authorities largely from northern countries and their ecclesiastical councils. Antiquarians will gladly peruse Father Beissel's article on "History in German Seals." Seals have a history of their own, which faithfully represent, too, the currents of thought in the periods to which they belong. Father Baumgartner contributes two articles: one on the poetry of Catalonia, and the other on the "Neerlandia Catholica," presented by the Dutch Catholics to Pope Leo XIII. on the occasion of his late Jubilee—in which article the writer draws a sketch of the development of Catholic life in Holland since the revolution of 1830.

4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).*

Father Frins has an article treating of the nature of sin according to the schoolmen of the middle ages, Father Arndt contributes one on the various denominations in Russia, Father Grisar a masterly paper on "Rome and the French Church, chiefly in the Sixteenth Century." We are specially grateful to Father Grisar for this article. It has gradually become a sort of axiom with Protestant historians that the Church of Gaul enjoyed, as it were, perfect independence of the Holy See, and in his article he succeeds in quite establishing several most important facts; that prior to the destruction of the

Roman Empire in Gaul the Primacy of Rome was undisputed in that country; also that even after the establishment of the Frankish Monarchy bishops as eminent as Cæsarius of Arles and Avitus of Vienne are found so energetically supporting the claim of Rome that it could not have been lost sight of, and that in the sixth century evidence is not wanting of the recognition of the Roman Primacy in Gaul, one luminous proof of which is the fact that the Archbishop of Arles enjoyed, in his quality of Papal Vicar, the right of precedence before the other prelates.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 2 Agosto, 1890.

Italy and the Triple Alliance.—The *Civiltà Cattolica*, in its number for August 2, has a clear and convincing article upon the subject of the "Triple Alliance:" the advantages, or, to speak more correctly, the disadvantages, which Italy may be expected to derive from this much lauded compact, contracted by her rulers with Germany and Austria, two first-class military Powers, six years ago, and which, through the enormous outlay it has already entailed, and will further entail, is in process, conjointly with other causes, of reducing her to skin and bone. The blindness of the Italian Government is such that it is spending on its military armaments little less than Austria—relatively, in fact, more—and proportionately as much as Germany expends. France alone exceeds. But we must remember that France, from its natural wealth, can sustain the expense of this war without battles, as it may be called, and even increase it without serious damage; nay, this hostile attitude may serve its purposes, because it impoverishes and exhausts her adversaries, who are forced to keep up with it; but for Italy it is evident such a state of things constitutes an imminent peril, and threatens it with utter ruin, for Italy is a poor country, ground down by taxation, and with no means of increasing her material prosperity in any way. What, then, does the Government hope or propose to gain by this ruinous alliance? Its motive was obvious. It has charged the country with this intolerable burden simply in order to be ready in all eventualities to secure Rome to the Revolution; but, politically speaking, it has blundered grossly. If Bismarck made a signal mistake in not appreciating the recuperative powers of France, the so-called Italian kingdom has committed an egregious folly in breaking with that Power, to which, in fact, it owes its very existence, in order to link itself to Germany. The Triple Alliance assures neither the peace nor the prosperity of any of the allied States; it does but help to furnish France with the possibility, through its natural wealth, of inflicting great evil on them. France can bring an army of several millions into the field, and at any moment single-handed would be able to give the allied States much to do, quite independently of the aid which

Russia may afford her. Thus the Italian Government incurs the risk of obtaining the precise opposite of its object. But does Italy, after all the sacrifices it has made, possess an army able to meet any contingency? Far from it. A further incalculable amount of expenditure is needed for this end, as well as to complete the defences of the country; and where is the money to be found? France has internal resources; France has credit; and, if she has to incur debts, she can pay them. Italy has neither the one nor the other. Thus, for the attainment of an uncertain object, the Government is madly rushing on certain financial ruin. It cannot be so blind as not to perceive this. It cannot but see the abyss yawning before it; but perish Italy, so that the Revolution may keep hold of Rome! This is the meaning of the Triple Alliance.

Financial ruin, however, is not the only evil involved in the maintenance of this armed peace. We have to remember the misery accruing to the country by the withdrawal of millions of men from the pursuits of agriculture, industrial callings, commerce, study, family cares and duties, the sweets of domestic life, and well nigh all the aids and consolations of religion; from everything, in short, that is opposed to the life and habits of camp and barrack. The Italian army too surely tells its own tale as to the results. These agglomerations of soldiery are schools and hotbeds of the most abominable vice and immorality; and, in the estimation of those who regard things from a higher point of view, these moral evils far surpass those which are material. Add to all this the fearful number of daily suicides committed in the barracks, and we shall have some measure of the evils, moral, social, and economical, which are dragging the country to inevitable ruin. Let this Triple Alliance be prolonged six more years, and Italy will be utterly discomfited and crushed, without the discharge of a single shot. Such will be the outcome of this "master-piece" of diplomacy.

The Teaching of the Church Concerning Hallucinations.—

In a previous article, forming part of a series on visions and ecstasies in connection with the supposed medical discoveries of recent times, the reviewer had taken a brief survey of the theories propounded by modern physicians on the subject of hallucinations, demonstrating the futility of their application by rationalists to explain the visions and ecstasies recorded of the saints honoured by the Church. He now succinctly sets forth the teaching of the Church in this matter of illusions and hallucinations, referring chiefly to Benedict XIV. on "the Beatification and Canonisation of the Servants of God," which is a text-book to theologians and to ecclesiastical tribunals on this question. If the rationalists would take the trouble to read this work they would find to their surprise that the Church has long ago deeply studied these matters, concerning which so many scientists now fancy they can give her lessons and correct her erroneous judgments. The point on which they strongly insist, as if theologians were ignorant of it, and it had been brought to light only by modern science, is that hallucinations of a purely

natural origin exist, which often assume a religious or a demoniacal form; and these, they say, precisely resemble what are believed by Catholics to be supernatural visions or preternatural obsessions. Scientists class these hallucinations under three heads, corresponding with their exciting causes: namely, into those which are induced by some poison, whether that of opium, nightshade, or alcohol; those which originate in attacks of malignant fever; and those which occur in various states of cerebral derangement and consequent mental alienation. If these discoveries were all new, some persons might possibly be led to entertain a doubt as to the genuineness of visions recorded in Christian hagiology, and accepted as supernatural in the processes of canonisation. It might perchance be said that theologians, acting in perfect good faith, were deceived through their ignorance of the possibility of natural hallucinations from morbid causes. To which, however, there is the obvious reply that, since it has not been the habit of the Church to propose to the veneration of the faithful any person of unsound mind or drugged with alcohol or opium, and as the visions of the saints did not coincide with attacks of fever, it would have mattered little if theologians had been ignorant concerning the hallucinations originating in these morbid causes, the phenomena examined by them being evidently not referable to the said causes. But, so far from being ignorant with regard to them, ancient physicians, philosophers, and theologians have expressly treated of them, and that most minutely. The reviewer gives corroborative extracts from the work of Benedict XIV. who, quoting from P. Bardello, cites instances quite in point of hallucinations of this order.

But more than this. Morbid hallucinations are those which are least easily mistaken for preternatural visions. There are others of a natural order of which the medical faculty know very little, occurring as they do in persons otherwise sane in mind and not afflicted with any bodily ailment. In such cases the doctor is not likely to be called in; it is the spiritual director who is more likely to be consulted; natural illusions, independent of any morbid cause, have not therefore been the subject of clinical medical examinations; indeed, it is actually matter of dispute amongst members of the faculty at the present day whether hallucinations ever exist without morbid derangement, a matter upon which the Church has never had any doubt. Where the experimental knowledge and scrutiny of these doctors end, that of the Church may be said to begin. To her it does not suffice that the individual in question should be sane in mind and body, and to all appearance a devout servant of God, in order to have his or her visions and ecstasies considered to belong to the supernatural order. The utmost caution has been always used in this matter, a caution which some might imagine to be excessive, and which would amaze those who are pleased, in their ignorance and prejudice, to believe that the Catholic Church is greedy and credulous of the miraculous. They would find, on the contrary, that cases of this sort undergo, when they come before

ecclesiastical authority, the most stringent examination, and are subjected to the severest criticisms. All this the reviewer ably demonstrates by extracts from the most authentic sources. He shows also that St. Teresa, herself the recipient of so many supernatural favours, was keenly alive to the dangers of illusion which beset the supernatural life, and in her calm, clear, and eminently rational style has given rules for discrimination.

It will be seen, then, that Catholic theologians much more readily admit the possibility of hallucinations than do these modern doctors. The reason is that masters of the spiritual life have drawn their knowledge from observations made on persons of sound mind, who, with more or less of rectitude and sincerity, profess a devout life. Nay, theologians, having fully recognised the efficacy of certain physical dispositions and impressionable temperaments for inducing visions and ecstasies of a purely natural order, have not hesitated to apply their canons of criticism even to undoubted servants of God, whom it was a question of raising to the altars of the Church, and to regard some of their visions and ecstasies as not surpassing the powers of nature, and hence not to be pronounced miraculous. If modern scientists would make themselves acquainted with these facts, they might find reason to blush for some of their rationalist colleagues, who have pointed out their supposed discoveries to the notice of theologians and of the Church, in order to warn them against mistaking hallucinations for supernatural visions and revelations.

19 Luglio, 1890:

The Question of Rome and the Roman Question.—Amongst the various interesting articles which have appeared during the last quarter upon subjects of the day is one thus headed. The title expresses two different ideas, bound together, however, as cause and effect; for it is the Roman or Papal question originating in the Masonic Revolution, which has brought about the utter failure, moral and financial, of the Roman municipality, and reduced the city *diis auctoribus in æternum condita*, as Titus Livius called it, or, as Martial sang,

Terrarum dea gentiumque Roma,
Cui par est nihil e nihil secundum,

to the ignominious state in which the world now beholds her.

The Revolution has always aimed at the possession of the Eternal City, not for any love that it bore to it, but in order by its conquest to complete the work for which in fact the unity of Italy was devised, its dechristianisation, the decapitation in its very centre of the religion of Jesus of Nazareth, and, as one of the "sect" has expressed it, "to plunge the cold blade of a knife into its heart." Masonic infidels and Jews, animated by the spirit at once of hatred and rapacity, have combined together for this Satanic purpose, while deluding men with the empty pretexts of patriotism and

national independence. The reviewer sets before us the three Romes: the first being the magnificent Rome of the Cæsars, so vast, according to an ancient writer, that no one knew where it began. Tacitus, speaking of the census taken by Claudius, gives it near upon seven million of inhabitants. To Pagan Rome succeeded Papal Rome, which was destined to save from destruction so many glorious remains of antiquity, while side by side with it, on the banks of the Tiber, a new and beautiful city arose, Christian Rome. The Popes built, but demolished nothing; nay, they were ever the faithful guardians and preservers of all the monuments of classic and pagan Rome.

Now what of the third Rome, the ideal of the anti-Christian Revolution, which was to eclipse all that had preceded it, and, as may be gathered from their own confession, annihilate in Rome the Papal city, superinducing another, new and opposed to it, not only materially considered, but as regards the moral respects of civilisation? Since the Deicide of Jerusalem never has the divine malediction been so clearly manifested on a city as on this Rome of the Freemasons and Jews. Space forbids us to analyse this article in any of its details. We must, therefore, content ourselves with referring our readers to the sketch given in the pages of this Review of the material ruin and squalid misery which are everywhere discernible to the eye, and for statistics of financial failure, rampant immorality, and appalling crime, based on official reports or drawn from the regretful statements of those whose desire it would have been to be able to set things in a far different light, and to whom the utter collapse of the third Rome is a matter of keen disappointment.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

L'Université Catholique.—Lyons.

Cardinal Caverot. This is a charming article in the May number, by Faugier, a most devoted admirer of the Archbishop of Lyons. The kindly character and humility, the playful familiarity of the Cardinal towards his clergy, are brought out by illustrative instances. The Cardinal's fidelity to the claims of the divine office was rigid and uncompromising, and he was unsparing towards any of his clergy whom he found a little lax as to exact times in this respect. Hence we are amused when we hear that he could not lay Walter Scott down till he had read to the end of the novel, "non obstant les droits de priorité du bréviaire."

St. Ennodius and Papal Supremacy in the Sixth Century.—This subject continues to be treated in a forcible manner by M. S. Légliſe. The protest drawn up by St. Avitus, of Vienne, in the name of all the bishops of Gaul, against the treatment of Pope Symmachus, and which is given here, is very telling, and shows clearly that all

the bishops of Gaul considered it quite monstrous and unheard of that the Council of Palma should presume to judge "their superior." The articles we have had on this same subject, continued through several numbers, are a valuable addition to our literature on the subject.

The Centenary of St. Gregory the Great.—This is a very eloquent article, in the June number, by the Rev. Father Ragey. The author speaks of St. Gregory as the founder of religious music, as a promoter of art, as a great writer, as a monk, and as a Pope. The sketch is a brilliant one, and done by a master hand. Towards the conclusion, he says: "But of all peoples, that which owes the most to St. Gregory, is not Italy, or France, but England. This nation, more than any other, has been made what it is by Christianity. It is from it that it has its monuments, its laws, its great men, its power, its prosperity. Now, this Christianity it owes to St. Gregory. Either by natural intuition, or by one of those supernatural illuminations, which God sometimes gives to His saints, Gregory divined what was intelligent, noble, and strong in character in this great people, and he did for it what no prince has ever done for any nation. Not being able to give it his own person, for the Romans prevented that, he gave it his best monks, his best priests, his best friends, and afterwards his counsels, his prayers, his whole heart; and finally the gift of faith and civilisation. He formed not with his hands but with his heart, and marked with the seal of his genius this new Christian Church and nation. . . . England, though Protestant, ought, if not through an impulse of religion, at least through a motive of patriotism, to erect a statue to St. Gregory, not in Westminster—the company is not worthy of him—but at the doors of Parliament, with this inscription: 'Grateful England to St. Gregory the Great.'"

Notices of Books.

Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer. An Examination into its Origin and Early History, with an Appendix of Unpublished Documents. By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, O.S.B., Author of "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," and EDMUND BISHOP. London: John Hodges. 1890.

AT the time of our near preparation for press this quarter, Father Gasquet's impatiently expected new book is not yet published; but Mr. Hodges has kindly allowed us to look over a copy, for which we beg to thank him, and we are naturally desirous to make our readers acquainted, in a summary way, with the nature of its contents. This is all that space and time will permit us at present. More than this,

and especially any critical appreciation of it, must necessarily be postponed till our next issue. Long before that time, however, it is safe to predict, great interest will have been aroused; for that two Catholic scholars should come before the English public as historians of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer is striking enough. And those who have read Father Gasquet's now widely-known work on the English Monasteries under Henry VIII. will anticipate that his new work is not a mere re-study of already existing histories of the Prayer-Book by Anglicans. These are numerous enough; but we believe there is not, at least we have not found, a single allusion to one of them. This is altogether an original work; and its chief interest centres in the hitherto undiscovered documents which the authors have themselves unearthed. Indeed the work apparently originated in the desire to merely edit a MS. which had previously escaped the notice of searchers into the history of the Prayer-Book, but which Father Gasquet's practised eye noticed was full of corrections in Cranmer's own handwriting. This proves to contain two schemes of liturgical reform drawn up for Cranmer, and then annotated and corrected by himself; and the precious MS. thus discovered furnishes a missing link in the genesis of the first Common Prayer-Book. It was supposed hitherto that nothing remained in existence, if anything ever existed, of the record of the "labours of the bishops and others who, by command of Convocation, had been engaged in examining, revising, and setting forth the divine service" and which the first Convocation of Edward VI. (Nov. 1547) desired "should be produced and should be submitted to the examination of this house." That such a valuable record could lie in a public library for so many generations unrecognised has the strangeness of fiction; yet of the genuineness of Cranmer's handwriting, as even of the nature and (at least proximate) date of the various documents there seems to be possible—thanks to the authors' able study of them—no further doubt. The volume thus introduced to the public contains two schemes of public Divine Service, and three tables of lessons; and these are embodied in the Appendix. The authors assign the first scheme, which is largely influenced by Quignon's Breviary, to a date somewhere between 1543 and Henry's death, as it was probably drawn up by Cranmer to be submitted for Henry's adoption. The second scheme has a Latin preface, of which that of the present Book of Common Prayer is little more than a translation; it also marks the determination of future changes in the direction, not of mere reform of the Breviary, but of Lutheran innovation. This scheme abandons "Hours," for Morning and Evening Prayer, retaining, however, many features of the Catholic Breviary, which were deliberately set aside later. This second scheme is attributed by the authors to the early period of Edward VI., prior to the compilation of the first Prayer-Book; it "clearly manifests traces of having been used for that work."

With these documents as a point of departure, and with much other first-hand research into the records of the time to guide them,

the authors are able to study the conflict of opinions and projects, and the influences which ultimately triumphed, making the Common Prayer-Book what it appeared in 1549. It will be seen that Cardinal Quignon's Breviary influenced largely Cranmer's first scheme: whilst in the Books of 1549 "no part remained but what had been incorporated in the Preface, and such general influence as it may be supposed to have exercised in regard to the continuous reading of Scripture." It will be seen, too, how earnestly the Catholic-minded portion of the English bishops wished to minimise the changes, and shape them consistently with Catholic doctrine. A most interesting and valuable glimpse of their efforts in this direction is given. They failed—or rather they were outwitted and overruled. Cranmer did as he liked. For proof of these points, we must refer the reader to these highly interesting pages. Even such Catholic features of the first Book, however, as the bishops saved were doomed; and the changes of 1552 were intended to make it quite clear that Catholic doctrine was not the doctrine of the Book of Common-Prayer. Or we may say that the Catholic party endeavoured to make the Book of 1549 much (as to Catholic doctrine) what the present Anglican party strive to show that it is; and the text which the Catholics sought to preserve was altered—just to show that this Catholic doctrine was not tolerated in the English reformed Church.

Another point of great interest discussed by the authors we cannot but mention. The first Book of Common Prayer, they show strongest grounds for concluding, was never submitted to Convocation at all (see the whole of Chapter X.,) though they have now made it evident, for the first time, that the proposed Liturgy *was* submitted to a meeting of the bishops—a meeting which is indeed called, in a contemporary letter, a Synod, but can have no pretension to be a formal assembly of the clergy. The account given (Chapter XI., with the original document in Appendix V.) of this debate on the Liturgy is from another document hitherto unknown, and now brought to light by the authors; and it is deeply interesting as revealing the minds of the bishops, and the style of argument on one side and the other. How truly the bulk of clergy and people yet remained, when Edward reigned, true to the old faith, is shown at length in Chapter XIV. The Protestant changes had to be forced upon them.

We should like to notice several other points raised in course of the volume, but may only advert in passing to the evidence afforded in Appendix VI., that the words of institution were not derived, as is so frequently maintained, from the Mozarabic, but from the Lutheran Nuremberg Liturgy. Finally, this feature of "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer" is conspicuous, and deserves hearty recognition—the utter absence of controversy, or any of the bitterness which so often colours even historical writing on controverted topics. The authors recognise the place which the Prayer Book holds in the affections of Anglicans, and they respect the feeling. They profess to write only as historians; and we are glad to

think that not even the sensitiveness of affection can discover a sneer or even the influence of prejudice. But Father Gasquet's name was a guarantee that the book would be written with judicial impartiality.

Les Critères Théologiques. Par le Chanoine SALVATORE DI BARTOLO. Traduit de l'Italien par un Prêtre de l'Oratoire de Rennes. Paris : Berche et Tralin. 1889.

THE brief commentary on the "*Loci Theologici*" which it is the purpose of this work to offer to the reader, will be useful to priests and the cultured laity for the purpose of explanation. His Eminence Cardinal Manning, in a letter to the author, dated August 7, 1888, expresses the hope that the clear and pacific reasoning of the work may be of advantage to those who do not agree with us, and he promises to recommend it to his clergy. After an Introduction on the "Value of Reason in the Catholic Church," we have ten Criteria treated, and a brief appendix. The criteria are the following: "The Teaching Church, General Councils, the Roman Pontiff, Universal Belief, Church Teaching, positive and negative, Doctrinal Decisions, Tradition, Holy Scripture, and Development." The plan of the work is rather scientific than literary. The writer lays down a proposition, and then proves or develops it, adding citations and references in notes, of which there are a great many. It is not as a reflection on the writer that we say his object has been rather to state how little we are called upon to accept than to prove the existence and extent of revealed teaching in the world. It is very useful to attempt sometimes to draw a line. Indiscreet Catholics, on the one side, and reckless enemies on the other, have done much to confuse the outlines of Catholic teaching, and to puzzle honest inquirers. The spirit of the work, however, is quite averse from "minimising."

As may be guessed from the list of his divisions, the writer has to touch on many burning questions. The Galileo incident reappears several times. Whilst we think he ought to have mentioned that the decrees of the Inquisition and of the Index were formally promulgated by Pope Urban VIII., we are convinced that he states the true view of that condemnation—viz., that the matter was one of mere science, not of dogma, or connected with dogma; and that although the almost unanimous persuasion of the theologians of that day was that the matter was "heretical," yet that a small minority held otherwise, and, by sticking to their views, finally stemmed the current of public opinion (pp. 12, 13). He might have cited in support of this view the celebrated letter of Cardinal Bellarmine quoted in this REVIEW (October 1887, p. 408).

In view of the questions now being discussed as to the inspiration and authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, the writer's full and clear treatment of this subject should prove of great advantage. He is distinctly of opinion that the Vulgate may be held to contain "non-

authentic texts," or, as Vercellone expresses it, clauses (*periodos*) which are not genuine. Thus he would allow a Catholic writer to maintain that the text of St. John about the three heavenly witnesses was not Scripture. As to inspiration, he holds that it has varying degrees, being in some passages at its maximum, and in others again of intermediate efficacy. Thus inspiration is at its maximum when the sacred writer treats of matters of faith and morals, or relates facts essentially connected with such doctrines. On the other hand, it is at its minimum in the "accessory elements" (we presume he means the unimportant details) of the facts related; and inspiration, when thus at the minimum, "does not insure the infallibility of the human co-operator" (p. 251). This is very plainly laid down, and whatever is said about it, we have here a cultivated author who has not shrunk from putting forth a view which will completely turn aside the shafts of modern criticism. The work should be in the hands of all who are interested in the contest now being waged as to the inspiration of the Scriptures.

The Life of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor. Edited by Father PIUS CAVANAGH, O.P. Illustrated. London: Burns, Oates & Co. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

A HANDSOMELY printed and illustrated life of St. Thomas of Aquin, running to some 250 pages, will be welcomed and appreciated by a large section of devout readers in this country and in America. The work seems to be founded in large measure on Père Joyau's recently published book, "*Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Patron des Ecoles Catholiques.*" But the editor assures us that Tournon and Tocco have been carefully used, and we perceive here and there an eloquent passage from Archbishop Vaughan's well-known Life. Touching the little point of St. Thomas's connection with Monte Cassino, the writer seems to have a somewhat peculiar idea of what constitutes evidence. He says there is "no proof whatever" that the parents of St. Thomas made "the solemn offering" of their son to the service of God in the Abbey. Yet in the same page (15) is quoted the testimony of one of the witnesses for the canonisation, Bartholomew of Capua, a responsible dignitary of the Church. He says that the father of St. Thomas "made him a monk" (*monachavit*) at Monte Cassino. Possibly what is denied is the "solemnity" of the offering; that is, the peculiar Benedictine ceremony of the consecration of children. We think that this is what the writer means; but if this witness states that the child was made a monk, and if the ceremony was generally used on such occasions, how can it be said that there is "no proof whatever" that it took place? It is of small consequence, for St. Thomas was taken away from the care of the Benedictines when he was yet only ten years old.

The work is divided into three books, containing altogether

twenty-four chapters. As no history of St. Thomas can be complete without touching on contemporary events in Church and State, the writer gives us clear and brief accounts of the condition of the Church in the thirteenth century, of University life in Paris and Naples, and of the influence of the Friars. The thirteenth century is especially the century of the Dominicans and the Franciscans; and the great figures of St. Thomas of Aquin and of St. Bonaventure are only the chief among a crowd of doctors, preachers, and saints who were stirring up science and piety in every quarter of Europe. St. Thomas, in his childhood and his youth, felt the influence of the armed tyranny which in too many places was trying to subjugate the Church. Once a Friar Preacher, he belonged to Europe. Although Paris may boast of the greater part of his glorious career, yet Cologne, Naples, and even London knew him, and he was equally at home in every convent of his order. He sanctified, by his character as a Saint, the studious and scientific ardour of a century which has left an ineffaceable impress upon the world's history. He taught men how to read the Fathers; he taught them how to use Greek philosophy; he stopped, in great measure, that tedious diffuseness and love of trifling which was beginning to infect theological teaching; and he established the principles of the religious life. We have in this work a good history of all this. The last five chapters contain many anecdotes and characteristic stories, and the Saint's history is brought down to the present day by the relation of what Leo XIII. has done for the glory and *cultus* of the Angel of the Schools.

Statement of the Chief Grievances of Irish Catholics in the Matter of Education: Primary, Intermediate, and University. By the ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, and W. H. Gill & Son. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co.

THESE singularly instructive pages are the expansion of a "memorial" on the subject of Irish Catholic Education, prepared by the Archbishop of Dublin, for the information of Members of Parliament during the session of last year. The Archbishop begins with the establishment of the National School system by the late Earl of Derby in 1831, and traces the history of the Irish Primary School down to the Report of the Royal Commission of 1868-70. He describes the "Model" Schools and exposes the injustice of the Irish system of Training Colleges. He then passes on to Intermediate Education, and discusses the Act of 1875, admitting its fairness on the whole, yet showing how it tended to substitute mere cramming, in order to pass an examination, for real education. As to University Education, here again we have a complete but succinct history of what has happened in Ireland; Sheil's Bill of 1834; Peel's Bill of 1845; the Queen's University and the "Godless" Colleges; the establishment of the Catholic Uni-

versity; the various schemes that saw the light between Lord Mayo's proposal in 1867 and the O'Connor Don's Bill of 1879; and finally, Mr. Balfour's statement in Parliament in last year's session, with his remarkable qualification of it at Partick about four months later. No less than eighteen valuable appendices follow. The Archbishop of Dublin is a patient, clear, and most fair exponent of a series of in- ices and blunders; and one need not go beyond these pages to understand why he has so great a hold on the confidence of the Irish people. This publication of 400 pp. is a complete and handy manual of the Irish Education question.

History of the Passion: Being the Gospel Narrative of the Sufferings of Christ and the Dolours of Mary. With Notes and Comments. By the Rev. ARTHUR DEVINE, Passionist. London: Burns & Oates.

THE above title gives a very fair idea of what this work on the Passion is. The author has, of course, taken the Gospel narrative as the groundwork of his book; or rather, he has embodied the account given by the Evangelists into his History, preserving in many places the words of the Holy Scripture. But the book is not simply this. The writer has evidently read commentaries and archæological works and whatever could throw light on his great subject, and so has been enabled to give us an interesting and readable book. We do not mean to intimate that the author has aimed at being learned; that would be, for the ordinary reader, the same as heavy and dry. On the contrary, Father Devine has sought to convey knowledge on various points connected with the Passion of our Lord, which are of great interest to every Christian reader. What he tells us, for instance, regarding the "Mount of Olives," the "Crown of Thorns," and other points, makes us realise more intensely the sacred events which are so dear to us. The author tells us, in his Preface, that he has not meant to write a book of devotion in the ordinary sense. But he has written something much better. Whilst he gives us the History of the Passion, he suggests points and reflections which are often striking, and which stimulate meditation. We consider that the author has produced a useful and suggestive book; one which will be found interesting to read, and which will convey to ordinary persons a good deal of information. We have also an account of the "Dolours of Mary," giving an explanation of each Dolour, and speaking of them in a way which will help to make them more appreciated and loved. In an Appendix we have a good treatise on the "Stations of the Cross," which will be found to answer all the principal questions connected with this beautiful devotion.

The Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland. By WILLIAM BULLEN MORRIS, Priest of the Oratory. Fourth edition. London: Burns & Oates, 1890.

WE have to direct attention to the issue of a fourth edition of Father W. B. Morris's "*Life of St. Patrick.*" There is not much that is new in this issue, but the writer has added two interesting *excursus* in the appendix. The first relates to St. Patrick's ancestors, and discusses whether Calphurnius was a *deacon* or a *decurio*. Father Morris shows very decisively that he could not have been a deacon. The other is on the "Roman Mission" of the Saint, and brings into strong relief the emphatic words of Dr. Whitley Stokes, in his note to "*The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick,*" vol. ii. :—"There is no ground for disbelieving his desire to obtain Roman authority for his mission, or for questioning the authenticity of his decrees that difficult cases arising in Ireland should ultimately be referred to the Apostolic See." This is a useful passage, as being the dictum of a Protestant expert, and it may be held in reserve against the gentlemen who from time to time renew the "Protestant" theory of Dr. Todd.

We are somewhat surprised that Father Morris, in his interesting notice on Father Colgan (p. 277) has said nothing about the magnificent edition of the Salamanca MS. of the "*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ,*" recently for the first time printed by the Bollandists of Antwerp at the expense of the Marquis of Bute.

The Church ; or, What do Anglicans mean by "the Church" ? By J. B. BAGSHAWE, D.D. London: St. Anselm Society. 1890.

THE Very Rev. Dr. Bagshawe has already made himself so well known by his previous works on the Church, especially by his "*Credentials of the Church,*" and by his yet more valuable "*Threshold of the Church,*" that his present timely volume stands in no need of commendation from us. We will merely state, therefore, that the object of this, his latest addition to Catholic apologetic literature, is to consider the question which is the true Church. This question, as our author reminds us (see preface), is always of vital importance in the settlement of religious differences, but it assumes a special urgency at the present day. We hear of "*The Church*" and of "*Church authority*" in all directions, and it would seem that men are becoming more alive to the fact that if Christianity is to be defended at all it must be defended on the basis of some distinct authority.

A careful perusal of the present treatise will certainly help to clear the ground of much intellectual lumber; and will afford unusual facilities to any unprejudiced Anglican who is sincerely endeavouring to distinguish the Church founded by Christ upon a rock from the innumerable other so-called Churches founded upon nothing

firm and stable, but merely held together for a time by some purely human bond.

The rev. author is simple in his exposition of even the most fundamental truths, and his explanations are clear and convincing, though at times somewhat wordy and diffusive. The following passage will serve as a specimen of the style and treatment:

Every dogma of the Christian religion must have remained in an incomplete and unsettled state if there had been no teaching authority. Take, for example, the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. Could we possibly have had the doctrine as we have it now, without the active intervention of a living teacher? Would it have been possible to make out the details of this great mystery from the Holy Scriptures? You may say it is contained in Scripture. Certainly. When you have the doctrine put clearly before you by the Church you can see that her teaching is confirmed by Scripture; but could you have possibly found out what the Athanasian Creed tells us without that teaching? But tradition tells us, and the voice of the Fathers: yes, but without an authorised teacher who could possibly pronounce which was the true reading of tradition: who could tell us which *were* the Fathers, and which the heretical writers whom we ought to shun? Why are they "Fathers"? Is it not because their teaching is confirmed and sanctioned by the Church? It is, in fact, the approbation of the Church which makes them "the Fathers" (p. 244).

Though the volume is a small one, comprising some three hundred pages, the reader will find that it covers a good deal of ground. Some idea of the purpose of the book may be got from the headings of the different chapters:—I. A Single Infallibility.—II. The Nature of Faith.—III. The Fathers on Church Authority.—IV. Anglican and Roman Theories.—V. What is a Church?—VI. Christ's Witness.—VII. Teacher and Guide. The book concludes with an appendix on the much vexed question of "Intention."

La Réforme Sociale et le Centenaire de la Révolution. Paris: Bureaux de la Réforme Sociale. 1890. 1 vol., pp. 645, and cxxiv.

THIS is a large octavo volume, published last spring by the *Société d'Economie Sociale*, which binds together in France the disciples of Le Play. This society is engaged in the laborious task of inducing their countrymen to give up the ridiculous legends, fictions and fancies they cherish, and to learn at last in the science of social life the sober lessons of facts. The volume before us, made up of a number of papers and reports by different authors on social questions, is a valuable contribution to this end; and valuable for England and America, as well as for France, since the French have truly no monopoly in the manufacture of adulterated history and jerry-built social science.

Amid the many papers that concern the French Revolution two may be singled out as particularly instructive. One is by M. Taine, who with his usual brilliancy contrasts the French army before and after the Revolution, in the one case made up of hired

recruits, and absorbing for the public advantage the members of society unfit for steady domestic and industrial life; whereas now the army is made up of conscripts, and by a shocking tyranny and inequality those to whom home is most sweet, and a peaceful occupation most congenial, are dragged away to the repugnant life of the barracks or the camp; and like a contagious disease, conscription has spread from State to State over the whole Continent of Europe.

The second paper is by M. Hubert Valleroux, and shows the abundant institutions of charity before the Revolution, the many pious foundations, poor relief organised in the *bureaux de charité*, medical aid and medicine provided in country villages; and how the greater part of this genuine patrimony of the poor was destroyed by the Revolution. It is still customary in England to speak of the abolition of tithes and feudal dues at the Revolution as a just transfer of wealth from a surfeited clergy and nobility to a starving people. In reality it was precisely the starving people that suffered. For example, more than a third of the revenues of the hospitals was composed of tithes and feudal dues appropriated to this purpose. Thus this "generous" measure was an enrichment of the middle classes at the expense partly no doubt of the nobility but partly also of the poor.

Other legends like those of the state of popular ignorance before the Revolution, or of the tortures and secret executions in the Bastille are exposed in their absurdity. But there are many questions not immediately connected with the French Revolution, which are well handled in this volume. For example the use of the *metayer* system of farming in making harmonious the interest of landlords and tenants, and enabling both to hold up better against agricultural depression; the insufficient and dangerous law of insurance recently passed in Germany to meet invalidity and old age; the badness of the French law of succession to property, and various changes in other countries, notably the new Spanish code, giving much greater freedom of action to the father than formerly; the introduction of complete freedom of testation in various portions of Mexico: and the new Austrian law aiming at preserving small farms from either being portioned into smaller, or absorbed by larger farms.

Old Country Life. By S. BARING-GOULD, M.A. With Illustrations. London: Methuen & Co. 1890.

THERE are more than forty excellent wood-cuts in this book, and they are perhaps the most valuable feature it presents. Mr. Baring-Gould always writes interestingly, and we have here chapters on Old County Families, County Houses, Old Gardens, Old Parsons, Country Dames, Old Roads, Family Portraits, Old Servants, and a variety of other matters connected with English life from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. There are stories of considerable

length (for which the writer acknowledges himself in part to be indebted to Sir Bernard Burke), there are anecdotes, sketches, reflections, bits of old world wisdom, and a general air of preferring old times to new. The sentiment is not always perfectly genuine, and has occasionally a vamped-up appearance, as if the writer had pages to fill and must fill them. The following, for example, is neither new nor very sincere :

So sang our grandfathers ; but the song has gone out with the polished table, and with the polished table the quiet enjoyable drinking of good port and sherry after the retirement of the ladies. The cigarette is lighted—and who can enjoy port with the air full of its perfumes ?—and no sooner is the wine begun to be appreciated than the tray of coffee is presented, dug into the side, as a reminder that nowadays the pleasant hour with good wine and agreeable male companions is cut down to a quarter of an hour—has gone out of fashion with the polished table, and we must away into the drawing-room to talk empty nothingnesses, and to listen to bad music (p. 87).

A Short History of the Church of Ireland. By Rev. L. A. POOLER, M.A. Belfast : Charles W. Olley.

MR. POOLER'S book purports to be an introduction to the study of larger works on the history of "The Church of Ireland." It makes no pretensions to original research ; it gives merely the results achieved by other historians in this department of ecclesiastical history. In the list of works used for the compilation of his volume we are supplied with a key to its singularly one-sided character. Mr. Pooler might have known that there was such a work as Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, and though he may differ widely from the conclusions arrived at by that writer, still in common fairness he ought to have read up both sides of the question, and included Lanigan in his list. Amongst the eighteen writers, whose works mainly form the store-house from which Mr. Pooler draws his historical facts, two only are Catholics. The remainder for the most part have been mere party writers, whose productions are devoid of all historical value. Mr. Pooler's book partakes more of the character of special pleading than of sober history.

P. L.

Elementary Schools, How to Increase their Utility. With a Preface by WILLIAM BOUSFIELD. London : Percival & Co. 1890.

THE publication of this volume, composed of six lectures delivered to the Managers of the London Board Schools in 1889 and 1890, is one of the many symptoms of a reaction of opinion against the theory so ardently advocated in the first half of the present century, that in education, as then understood, would be found a universal panacea for the ills of society. The irrational system of devoting the early years of life to training faculties whose exercise would have no place in its maturity, has been shown by the ex-

perience of a generation to be productive of all the evils its opponents predicted, as well as of many others then unforeseen. The assumption that mere literary culture must necessarily exert any elevating moral influence might have been thought sufficiently disproved by the teaching of history, but the vitality of error is proof against extinction by any accumulation of facts. That literature, as selected by the lower classes, is an engine of demoralisation rather than of elevation, has now become too obvious to be denied, and the conviction that the whole course of popular education has been hitherto misdirected, is gradually forcing itself, in consequence of this and other discoveries, on the public mind. The uneasy consciousness thus aroused has led to an exhaustive series of official inquiries, which have elicited the almost unanimous expression of opinion that considerable reforms are required. Mr. Bousfield in the preface to the volume before us, quotes the report of the Special Committee appointed in 1887 by the London School Board, to the effect "that a great change is necessary, to make the schools productive of the civilising and beneficial results of which they are capable," and further that while under the present system great attention and discipline are secured and the teachers have a power of imparting facts to the children with wonderful facility, "there is little to awaken the reasoning faculties and the effect is to make the boys into mere machines." That "there is nothing in the curriculum to ennoble labour," that "the boys are given an untrue bent towards clerical and non-manual pursuits, and are often discouraged from taking the first steps in an industrial career," are among the other conclusions stated, forming altogether a crushing indictment against the existing system. The remedy is sought in the greater development of manual training by the use of tools and the practice of drawing, thus cultivating faculties which the more purely literary education leaves in abeyance. The six lectures of which the present volume is composed are developments of the same leading idea. The first on "The Teaching of Science," by W. Lant Carpenter, B.A., dwells on the necessity for variety in the educational diet and on the usefulness of some form of elementary and scientific instruction in cultivating the powers of reasoning and observation.

Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, in his lecture on Music, advocates the claims of art in general, and his own art, music, in particular, as a counteracting influence to that of education on its present lines, which according to him, tends to the development of socialistic and revolutionary ideas among the masses. The advantages of physical and manual training are strongly urged in the lectures on "Physical Culture and Recreation," by Colonel Onslow, Assistant Adjutant-General, and on "Hand-and-Eye Training," by Mr. Ricks, Inspector of Schools. Evenings of amusement, and the best methods of promoting them, are treated of in the fifth lecture, by Ada Heather-Bigg, and Mechanics, with a popular exposition of some of the familiar truths of that science, in the concluding one, by Mr. W. H. Grieve, P.S.A.

Dogmengeschichte der neueren Zeit. Von Dr. JOSEPH SCHWANE.
Freiburg: Herder. 1890.

DR. SCHWANE, the senior Professor of Theology in the Academy of Münster, has at length brought to a happy close his great work on the history and development of Catholic dogma. The first two volumes dealt with the history of dogma in the patristic period, the third with dogma in the Middle Ages, and the history is, in the volume before us, continued from the Reformation to the Vatican Council. This last volume is throughout admirable for its historical research, and happily combines critical power with a laudable spirit and tendency, "sentire cum ecclesia." This sentiment leads to accordance with the ancient Fathers: a judgment which may be at once tested by referring to the chapters devoted to "Our Lady," "Christology," and "Ecclesiology." Another quality of Dr. Schwane's work deserving praise is the lucidity of his doctrinal expositions and wonderfully clear diction; so that the most difficult subjects of dogmatic theology are brought home to the student in a most attractive way. Amongst English theological scholars may be mentioned the name of Thomas Stapleton, whom I venture to esteem as not second even to Cardinal Bellarmine. An introduction on the history of theology is followed by chapters on: (1) God, and His attributes; (2) Christ and His work; (3) the Supernatural State and the Fall of our first parents, Grace and Justification. Particularly good—I may here observe—is the history of Jansenism. The concluding part treats of the constitution of the Church, and of the Sacraments. The gifted author describes all the main currents of thought, but gives greater prominence to the celebrated theologians of the society of Jesus; and I note with sincere pleasure that he is a strong advocate of their "*Scientia Media*," which has lately been so fiercely attacked in Italy and Germany. Finally, the chapters on the nature of Episcopal jurisdiction, and on the various theories on the sacrifice of the Mass, well deserve mention. Of course, a work written for German Catholics should accurately explain those German systems which threatened the purity of Catholic doctrine; and Professor Schwane has not fallen short of his high aim as a Catholic historian. Catholic Germany may well be proud of his four bulky volumes; they form a vast store-house of theological learning and solid piety, which will be consulted with advantage by scholars of other countries.

A. BELLESHEIM.

Josephi Fessler quondam Episcopi S. Hippolyti Institutiones Patrologicae
quas denuo recensuit, auxit, edidit, Dr. BERNARDUS JUNG-
MANN, Prof. Hist. Eccl., in Universitate Cath. Lovaniensi.
Tomus I. Oeniponti: Rauch. 1890.

THE learned author of this work was professor of ecclesiastical history in the episcopal seminary of Brixen, when he first published it. He was afterwards made bishop of St. Pölten, near Vienna, and by Pius IX. was appointed Secretary to the Vatican

Council. His episcopal duties up to the time of his death, prevented him from editing a second edition himself; and Professor Jungmann of Louvain, favourably known by his dissertations on ecclesiastical history, has undertaken the difficult task. I call it a difficult task, because the first edition, with all its excellences, had fallen behind the advanced mark of present patrological investigation. Works, such as the "Epistle of St. Barnabas," the "Philosophumena," the "Doctrine of the twelve Apostles," need only be mentioned to indicate the new aspects and the progress made in the subject of patrology since its publication. Professor Jungmann has done his work excellently. He deserves our unqualified praise. He is well acquainted with these recent patristic discoveries; and no important dissertation bearing on the subject has escaped his diligence.

The volume before us opens with the Fathers of the apostolic age and brings us down to SS. Damasus and Ambrose. We would direct attention particularly to the "prolegomena," which treat of the nature, necessity and use of patrology, and to the discussion on the authority of the Fathers, the method of criticism, and the establishing certain rules for a right understanding of their literary work. The author deserves special praise for the portion of his volume which treats of the "Didache;" for not only is it one of the most venerable documents after the Gospels, but no other is so illustrative of Catholic Faith and practice. I fully agree with Prof. Jungmann when he attributes it to the second half of the first century. And I cannot help also referring to Jungmann's attractive pages on the works attributed to Denis the Areopagite, as to which he rejects the theory adopted by Canon Hipler, and advocated by Professor Hirschl, which attributes those writings to a monk living in Egypt in the fourth century and bearing the name "Dionysius," to whom also the "Areopagita" belonged, by virtue of the custom prevailing in that country according to which members of convents or congregations assumed mystical surnames. They are, according to him, the writings of a Catholic and orthodox author who, by a pious fraud, puts himself forward as a disciple of St. Paul. We unhesitatingly recommend this excellent text-book. A word, too, should be said in recognition of the clear and attractive Latin in which Dr. Jungmann writes, not unworthy of a scholar who had his education in the land where Cicero and Tacitus flourished.

BELLESHEIM.

Katholisches Kirchenlexicon von WETZER und WELTE. Neue Ausgabe von CARDINAL HERGENROETHER und PROFESSOR KAULEN. VI. Band. Freiburg: Herder. 1880.

ABOUT a year ago* we noticed the fifth volume of this work. Happily we can now announce the sixth, a large volume of 2078 columns, reaching from Ascension of our Lord (Himmelfahrt)

* DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1888, p. 447.

to Juvenus. Of course articles by different writers vary in excellence, but they are all full of information and abreast of modern scholarship. Among philosophical articles we have those on "Idealism," "Jacobi" (by Mgr. Haffner, Bishop of Mainz), "John of Cornwall" (by Professor Bach of Munich), "John of Salisbury" (by Canon Stöckl). A celebrated scholastic, "John von La Rochelle," is drawn from the dust of libraries by the learned Father Ignatius Jailer, president of the Franciscan College at Quarrachi, near Florence, to whom scholars are deeply indebted for the magnificent edition of four volumes of St. Bonaventure's works. Biblical articles show most careful treatment; those on St. James the less, Jephtha, Jerusalem, Job, Joel, Joseph, St. John Baptist, are contributed by the editor, Professor Kaulen, a first-rate oriental scholar. English scholars will find that Westcott's and Hort's works are duly appreciated. Articles on the Popes who bore the name of Honorius, and those on Huguenots and Humanism are from the learned Professors Grisca and Funk, and a capital one on "Ireland," by Father Zimmermann of Ditton Hall is well calculated to make Germans acquainted with the history, literature, and vicissitudes of religion in that country. The volume needs no further commendation.

BELLESHEIM.

Institutiones Logicales secundum principia S. Thomæ Aquinatis, ad usum scholasticum accomodavit TILLMANNUS PESCH, S.J.
Part II. Logica major. (2 vols.). Friburgi: Herder. 1889-1890.

THE first volume of this exhaustive text book of logic has been already noticed; * we now have before us the second portion embracing "Major Logic" in two bulky volumes. The first of these is occupied with critical and formal logic. Father Pesch thus devotes three large volumes to a department of philosophical science distasteful to students in general. This, however, is not really matter of surprise, for the present day neglect of logic is a chief cause why Christianity and even the principles of sound reason are not safe from the attacks of Idealism, Positivism, and Materialism. There is, perhaps, no living scholar who has treated Logic so fully as has Father Pesch; yet he has but restored that noble science—the column supporting the edifice of higher culture—to the dignity it enjoyed wherever the old Catholic system of studies flourished. Method, Definition, Division, Argument; the comparison of Aristotle's with the Logic of modern Idealism; Scepticism, trustworthiness of senses and higher faculties; Universals (where he has noteworthy stricture on Sir W. Hamilton)—these too often dry subjects of study in Father Pesch's hands become attractive. He combines clear exposition with interesting historical reference to theories and systems. In the concluding volume we have "Logica Realis, in qua

* DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1889, p. 477.

ponuntur questiones ontologicæ," which is not a trespass into the field of Ontology as such, but only a discussion of its relations to Logic. Following this we are treated to a succinct historical sketch of false methods of philosophy. The treatment of those more recondite Logical questions once familiar in Catholic schools could not be sought under a more trustworthy and satisfactory guide than Father Pesch.

BELLESHEIM

The History of the Sufferings of Eighteen Carthusians in England, who refusing to take part in schism, and to separate themselves from the unity of the Catholic Church, were cruelly martyred. Translated from the Latin of Dom MAURICE CHAUNCEY, a Professed Member of the London Charter House. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1890.

THIS is a translation of the Latin original which was published last year, and which was noticed at the time in our pages. No recommendation is needed for a narrative of suffering for the faith, in our own country, and by men of so exemplary goodness and irreproachable fidelity to the spirit of their Institute and vows as were the Prior of the London Charter House, Blessed John Houghton, and his faithful monks, and the companions of his martyrdom. Chauncey, the writer of the narrative, was a member of the London house, who was ordered away to another house of the Order, near Hull, with the object apparently of breaking down his constancy, and his story, written with much feeling, and the minuteness of a witness, is very edifying and pathetic. The book is beautifully printed, but it does not contain the illustrations which adorned the Latin edition; it is, however, an interesting addition, and a useful, to our Catholic literature.

King Alfred's Last Christmas and other Stories. By FANNY S. HOLLINGS. London: Charles H. Kelly. 1890.

MISS HOLLINGS has the art of writing for children with that graceful simplicity of style which renders the most trivial incident interesting. Grown readers need not disdain the present little volume though it makes no pretension to anything beyond the capacity of the most juvenile audience. It is only the first short sketch of the series which is concerned with anything so remote as King Alfred, the remainder are episodes of everyday life such as might come within the familiar experience of the youngest reader. The tales, moreover, strike a just mean between the too obviously "improving" and the purely negative; the moral being delicately insinuated without being obtruded. They form altogether a volume that should be a welcome addition to any nursery library.

Annals of the Earth. By C. L. PHIFER. Chicago: American Publishers' Association. 1890.

THIS poet of the New World has invited comparison with one of the greatest of the past by adopting Milton's theme, as his work opens with the Creation and Fall of Man, and goes on through intervening history to his Redemption. The production of a poem on such a scale is in itself a *tour de force*, and there is much to admire in the power of language and description. The narrative has moreover the merit of being interesting throughout and represents a stupendous amount of labour and research. The tone in which the more sacred episodes are treated is throughout reverent, and there is nothing to jar on the reader, though theological questions may not be always regarded from the orthodox point of view.

The Girdle of the Globe. By RALPH. London: Authors' Co-operative Publishing Co. 1890.

WE have in this dainty volume, bound in white vellum and decorated with the map of a hemisphere, a poem in ten cantos, "descriptive," as the title-page declares, "of toil and travel round the world." The preface justly claims for it, that it is "the only long poem in the world going over so wide a range, and written by one who has gone over the greater portion of the ground himself." The journey extended from Siberia to the Antipodes, and from Japan to California, and included 23,000 miles of travel on land, lakes and rivers, in addition to the distance accomplished by sea. This modern Odyssey is pleasant reading throughout, being written in rattling verse, and more in the comic than epic vein.

Problems of Life. By ALEXANDER WINTER. London: John Hodges. 1890.

THIS little volume, a story, and not, as its name might suggest, a philosophical treatise, is chiefly remarkable as being apparently written in English by a German. Although the attempt shows laudable courage the result is a strange idiom, which may be commended to the study of those in search of curiosities of language. Even the proper names retain their foreign orthography, Eric being written *Erich*; Amy, *Aimy*, and Clement, *Clemenzenz*. The story is the not very probable one of a young man who having begun by robbing his father's safe, becomes, when thrown on his own resources, an industrious and exemplary member of society.

Poems of the Past. By MOI MÊME. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

THE poems in this volume are nearly all religious, either in sentiment or subject, and their smooth versification and fluency of diction would render them appropriate for recitation in schools or convents. Some graceful legends are narrated in simple and suitable verse, those entitled "The Two Crowns" and "A Legend of Judea" being especially beautiful in idea.

At the Holy Well. By JOHN JAMES PIATT. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

THE author of this volume of trifling but elegant verse, is apparently an American, to judge by the dedication, as well as by the internal evidence of the poems themselves. Some of these have a touch of the semi-cynical humour which gives an agreeable bitter sweet flavour to so many American productions.

A String of Pearls, from Longfellow. Selected and arranged by U. R. T. London: R. Washbourne. 1890.

THE title sufficiently indicates the contents of this waistcoat-pocket little volume. If you are an admirer of Longfellow, you will take it out at odd moments, and ruminate again over the choice morsels; if you are yet a stranger to the poet, tell over the *String of Pearls*, and the author's motto will no doubt be realised

I have but marked the place,
But half the secret told,
That following this slight trace,
Others may find the gold. [From "In the Harbour."]

The little book is beautifully printed, and attractively bound.

Aids to Correct and Effective Elocution; with Selected Readings and Recitations for Practice. By ELEANOR O'GRADY. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

HERE is a well printed, generally admirable selection in prose and verse of nearly four hundred pages. The greater part of the selection will be specially welcome in this country; including as it does many extracts from American authors; but it is surely a mistake to introduce the "burning questions" of modern politics into an educational work of this kind. The "aids" to effective elocution comprise, in some fifty pages, a clever and concise epitome of general principles usually more fully developed in the larger grammars of elocution.

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